THE ARCHÆOLOGY AND MONUMENTAL REMAINS OF DELHI,

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TO

HIS EXCELLENCY, THE RIGHT HONORABLE

EDWARD ROBERT LORD LYTTON,

VICEROY AND GOVERNOR GENERAL OF INDIA,

THIS WORK

IS, WITH HIS EXCELLENCY'S VERY GRACIOUS PERMISSION,

DEDICATED.

PREFACE.

THE following pages contain a description and history of every object of archæological or monumental interest in, or about, Sháhjahánàbád or Modern Delhi: beginning with the site of the semi-mythical Indra-prastha, the capital of Yudishthira, which dates back to the year 1450 B. C., and concluding with the tomb of the Emperor Akbar II. who died in the year 1837 A. D.

The order of description is, essentially, one of chronology, but where an important building has been locally associated with others of a later period,—not being specimens of any school or style of architecture—I have grouped them together for the advantage of travellers who may visit these places. For example, the description of the tomb of Nízám-uddín is immediately followed by those of the tombs of Jahánárá Begam, the Emperor Muhammad Sháh and Mírzá Jahángír, son of Akbar II.

The labour of collecting materials for such a work as this, will be duly appreciated by those who know the scattered state of the authorities where they are to be sought. It is impossible, however, to write the archæology of any part of India, without being under deep obligation to the invaluable researches of General Cunningham; and he who undertakes to write the archæology of Delhi must constantly seek for light in the pages of Syed Ahmed Khan's interesting work on that subject. To both these gentlemen, I am under great obligation. To Rái Jiwan Lál, Honorary Magistrate, Delhi, I have to offer my warmest acknowledgments; he very kindly placed at my disposal his rare collection of books and sketches, and but for his continued and valuable assistance, this work would never have been written.

C. S.

Ludhiana, 22nd September 1876.

*** To the ever increasing number of travellers who annually visit Delhi, the following diary of itinerancy will prove useful :—

1st day. Visit the Jám'a Masjid of Modern Delhi, (p. 250 *post*), the Kálí Masjid, (p. 149 *post*), Lál Qil'ah, (p. 216 *post*), and the imperial buildings in it (pp. 220-237 *post*), the Zinath-ul-M asajid, (p. 261 *post*), the Sonehri Masjid of Roshan-uddaulah in Chandní Chauk (p. 266 *post*), and the tomb of Ghází-uddín Khán (p. 263 *post*).

2nd day. Visit Asoka's pillar, (p. 129 *post*), the ruins of Fírozábád, (p. 123 *post*), Puráná Qil'ah, (p. 24 *post*), its mosque, (p. 190 *post*), and tower (p. 193 *post*), the tomb of Nizám-uddín and the adjoining tombs, (p. 102 *post*), the Mausoleum of Humáyún, (p. 202 *post*), and the tomb of Khán Khánán, (p. 214 *post*). If possible the traveller should visit Tughlaqábád, (p. 89 *post*).

3rd day. Visit the Jantar Mantar, or the Observatory, (p. 269 *post*), the Mausoleum of Safdar Jang, (p. 278 *post*), and from here ride out to Hauz Khás, (p. 83 *post*), and thence to the Qutb Minár, (p. 58 *post*), the tomb of Qutb Sáhib, (p. 174 *post*), of Balban, (p. 79 *post*), and the mosque and tomb of Jamálí, (p. 171 *post*).

4th day. Visit the tomb of Sultan Ghári, (p. 70 *post*) in the morning, and in the afternoon, the mosques of Khirkí, (p. 154 *post*), Begampúr, (p. 156 *post*), and the tombs of the Sayyad Kings, (pp. 159-161 and 196).

INTRODUCTION.

In the forty-five square miles of comparative waste which is now enclosed by the villages of Tughlaqábád, Mahraulí, Chandráon and the left bank of the river Jumna, thirteen capital cities have appeared and disappeared, the sites of which, with but one exception, are either marked by ruins or indicated by tradition. About fifteen centuries before the Christian era, Yudishthira founded the great Pandava Empire and built his capital on the left bank of the Jumna and called it **Indraprastha** (p. 1 *post*). For thirty generations imperial authority continued in his family and the dynasty, which followed that of the traitor Visarwa, held sway in the capital of the Pándavas for 500 years, and was succeeded by the Gotama-vansas. One of the Gotamas, Sarúp Data by name, supposed to be a lieutenant of the ruler of Kanauj, founded a city which he called **Dilli** (p. 10 *post*) after his superior lord, Rája Delu. The Gotamas were succeeded by the dynasty founded by Dharmdháj, or Dharnidhar. The last king of line was defeated by the Kohí Rája, who in his turn was overcome by the ruler of Ujain, whose authority passed into the hands of the Jogi dynasty of Samandar Pál. The Jogis were succeeded by the Baraitch Rájas (Oudh), and the Baraitchis were followed by the Fakir dynasty. The Fakirs gave way to Belawal Sen, and the power of the Sens was crushed by Deb Singh Kohi, of Siwalik, who was expelled from Díllí by Anang Pál I., the founder of the Ton-war family. Anang Pál I. rebuilt Díllí in 731 A. D., and Anang Pál II., one of his successors, re-populated that city in 1052 A. D. For a period of nearly 792 years Díllí ceased to be the capital of Northern India, and this period is supposed to extend from the conquest of that place by the ruler of Ujain to its re-peopling by Anang Pál II.

The Choháns defeated the last of the Ton-war Rájas in 1151 A. D., and when the last of the Choháns, Prithiraj, otherwise known as Rái Pithora, became the paramount power in Northern India, he built a fort which is known after him as **Qil'ah Rai Pithora**, (p. 30 *post*). In the year

1191 A. D. Díllí was finally conquered by the Muhammadans under Qutb-uddín Aibek, and the Hindu Empire in Northern Hindustan was for ever extinguished. The first eight sovereigns who succeeded Qutb-uddín Aibek reigned in Qil'ah Rái Pithora, which they adorned with a mosque and palatial buildings, of which we still possess more or less credible accounts (pp. 37-39 *post*). But Kai Qubad, the tenth king and grandson of the illustrious Balban, built a palace at **Kilokheri**, also known as **Naia Shahr** (p. 82 *post*), to which place he removed his court, and which his successor Jalál-uddín Khiljí, for political reasons, fortified and improved (p. 82 *post*). 'Alá-uddín Khilji, the nephew of Jalál-uddín, who succeeded his uncle on the throne of Delhi after a short residence in Qil'ah Rái Pithora, built a fort at **Siri** which became the capital of the Delhi Empire. In the year 1321 A. D. Qutb-uddín Mubárík Sháh, the younger son of 'Alá-uddín Khiljí, was assassinated by the infamous Khusrau Khán, who assumed the insignia of royalty in the palace of Hazár Sathún, in Sírí. Khusrau however, was defeated and killed by Ghiás-uddín Tughlaq Sháh, who removed the seat of his government from Siri to **Tuglaqabad** (p. 89 *post*). His son and successor built **Adilabad** (p. 98 *post*) within a short distance of the capital of his father, and a few years later he enclosed Qila'h Rái Pithora and Sírí and gave the new city the name of **Jahanpanah** (p. 99 *post*). His cousin and successor, Fíroz Sháh Tughlaq, abandoned the old capitals of his ancestors and built the city of **Firozabad** (p. 123 *post*). The invasion of India by Timur was a death-blow to the prosperity of Firozábád, and the infirm Sayyads, who succeeded to the authority of the warlike Pathans, were not wanting, in their humble way, in the ambition which leads Eastern Kings to commemorate their names by founding new cities. The first Sayyad King built **Khizrabad** (p. 159 *post*), and his son and successor gave his name to **Mubarikabad** (p. 159 *post*). The Lodis, who succeeded the Sayyads, have left no memorials of their rule in Delhi. Bahlol, the founder of the Lodí dynasty, lived in Sírí, and his son, the famous Sikandar, after a short reign in the old capital, removed to Agra. When Babar overcame the Lods at Panipat, he left Delhi in charge of a lieutenant and retained the seat of his government at Agra. His son, Humáyún was defeated by the Afghans under Sher Sháh,

was expelled from India and lived in exile for 14 years. Before his expulsion from India by the Pathans, Humáyún commenced the building of the city of **Din Panah** (p. 184 *post*). When Sher Sháh took possession of Delhi, he followed the example of his predecessors, and founded a new city which he called **Shergarh** or **Delhi Sher Shahi** (p. 187 *post*). In the year 1546 A. D. his son, Salím Sháh Súr, built the fort of Salimgarh on an island in the Jumna.

In 1555 A. D. Humyáún defeated the Pathans and recovered the Empire of Delhi. About six months after his victory over the Pathans Humáyún died at Din Panah and was succeeded by his son Akbar I., who lived and died at Agra. His son, Jahángír, continued to reside in Agra, and after his death Sháh Jahán removed to Delhi and built **Shahjahanabad** (p. 241 *post*), which continued to be the capital of the Empire till its conquest by the British on the 11th September 1803.

There is hardly another forty-five square miles of ground on earth of more interest to the students of history than that which has supplied the materials of this work. It includes the site of an Empire which rose and fell before the dawn of history ; and here also stand the pillars of Asoka, with inscriptions over two thousand years old ; here may also be seen the renowned Iron Pillar, the precise age of which may not be known, but the antiquity of which is undoubted ; here was made the permanent conquest of Hindustan by the Muhammadans, and from Delhi, whether as Qil'ah Ráí Pithora, Naiá Shahr, Sírí, Tughlaqábád, Fírozábád, Sher-garh or Sháh jahánábád, the Muhammadan Emperors of Hindustan issued their commands, and with the name of that city the name of their Empire was for ever identified.

A few words are necessary to explain the most approved grouping of the Archæological remains of India so far as they relate to Delhi.

I must dispose of the "Hindu Period" with the remark, that no entire specimen of ancient Hindu architecture is now extant in or about Delhi. And as regard, the different styles of Muhammadan architecture they may be classed in the following order :—

I. The Ghorí Pathan, from A. D. 1191 to 1289, with overlapping courses, ogee pointed arches and high front walls to masjids; specimens: Masjid Quvvat-ul-islám, Altamsh's Tomb.

II. The Khiljí Pathan, from A. D. 1289 to 1321, with horse-shoe arches and elaborate decorations; specimen: the Aláí Darwázah.

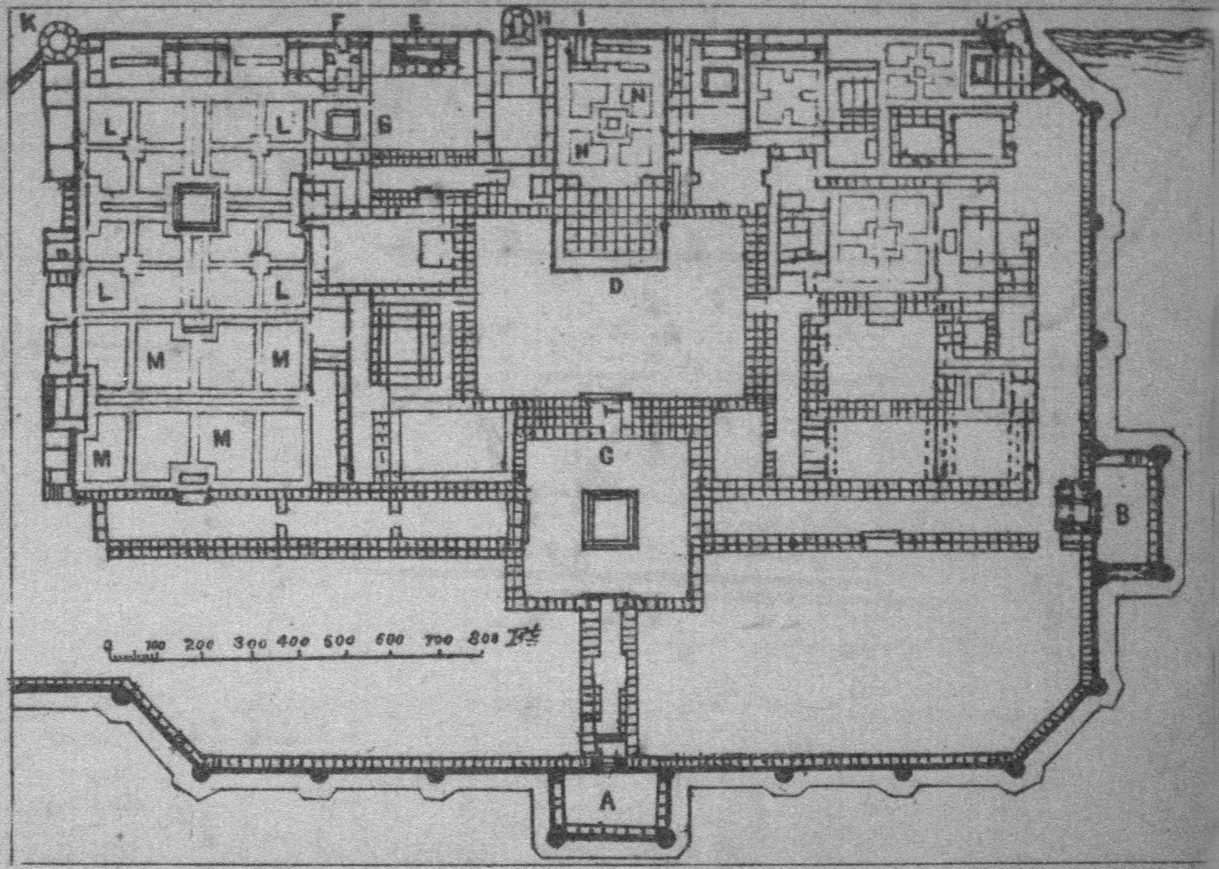
III. The Tughlaq Pathan, from A. D. 1331 to 1450, stucco Pathan pointed arches with sloping walls of great thickness, plastered domes on low necks; specimens: Tomb of Tughlaq Sháh, and the Masjids of Khán Jahán.

IV. The Afghan, from A. D. 1450 to 1555, with thin perpendicular walls, domes on tall octagonal necks. "Colour," writes Cunningham, "was extensively employed for both inside and outside decorations, glazed tiles were also used afterwards during the reign of the Súr family. The stucco ornamentation was given up and a much richer and more lasting effect was obtained by the use of different coloured stones." Specimen: Qila'h Kohnah Masjid.

V. The early Moghal, from A. D. 1556 to 1628, with Persian domes on tall cylindrical necks. "A peculiar characteristic of this period," writes Cunningham, "was the more general use of glazed tiles." Specimens Humáyún's Tomb, the Nílí Búrj.

VI. The late Moghal, from 1628 to 1750, with decorations consisting of mosaic pattern in stones and glazed ties.

A. Lahore Gate
B. Delhi Gate
C. Nakár Khánah
D. Diwán 'Ám
E. Diwán Khás
F. Hammám
G. Motí Masjid
H. Musamman Búrj
I. Rang Mahal
J. Asad Búrj
K. Sháh Búrj
L. Haiyát Baksh
M. Mehtáb Bágh
N. Imtiáz Mahal



LÁL QIL'ÁH

Indraprastha or Indrapat.—The earliest archæology of Delhi carries us back to the heroic but semi-mythical age of King Yudishthira which, by the consent of the learned, is supposed to belong to the fifteenth century before the Christian era. No memorial of Delhi, or of the cities which successively bore that name, can be complete without some account of that ancient city with which its history is so intimately connected—of Indraprastha, the city of Yudishthira, sometime his capital, then the second city of the early Pándu dynasty, and subsequently the capital of Northern India.

The history of Indraprastha, or whatever reliable there is in it, will be found in the Indrapat Mahátam and in the great epic of Mahá Bhárata, which has immortalised the wars of the Pándavas and the Kauravas, the "cousins," who at one time held paramount authority in Hindustan, and then divided the chivalry of their country in the internecine struggle which they carried on for supremacy in Bhárat-varsha.

Once upon a time there lived a Raja Dushyanta, who married Sokuntalá, the daughter of a sage; the issue of this marriage was Bhárat, who conquered the regions of Hindustan, which were long afterwards called Bhárat-varsha, or the country of Bhárat. Hastin, the founder of Hastinápur, was the son of Bhárat, and Hastin was the father of Kuru, and Kuru was the father of Sántaná, who "was the great grandfather of the men who fought in the war of Bhárata." Sántaná had a son by the goddess Gangá, and his name was Sántanava. He also had two sons by Satyavatí. On the death of Sántaná, he was succeeded by the children of his second marriage, because Sántanava had taken a dreadful vow (hence called Bhíshma, "the dreadful") that he would not deprive them of their right to inherit the Ráj. The elder of Bhíshma's half brothers succeeded his father, and when this Rája fell in a war against a hill tribe of the Himalayas, he was succeeded by his younger brother whose name was Vichitra-vírya. Vichitra-vírya married the daughter of the King of Kasi, but died childless. And

when he was dead, Vyása, a kinsman of the queen mother, raised up sons for the royal house of Hastinápur. Vyása had three sons : by the first widow of Vichitra-vírya he had a son who was blind, and was called Dhritaráshtra, and by the second widow he had a son who was pale, and was called Pándu, and he had a son by a maid servant, who was called Vidura. Dhritaráshtra was set aside because he was blid, Vidura because he was slave born, and Pándu succeeded to the Ráj.

Pándu had two wives and their names were Kunti* and Madrí ; Kunti had three sons, *viz.*, Yudishthira, Bhíma and Arjuna ; and Madri had two sons, *viz.*, Nakula and Sahadeva.

When Pándu died, Dhritaráshtra became the ruler over Bhárat-varsha ; he married the princess Gándhára, and had a family of sons who were called Kauravas after their ancestor Kuru, and the sons of Pándu were called Pándavas after their father.

The eldest son of Dhritaráshtra was called Durjodhana, and chief among his brethren was Duhsásana, and the Kauravas and the Pándavas lived at Hastinápur. It came to pass that owing to family feuds, Dhritaráshtra advised the Pándavas to go to Váranaváta " for some time," and he said, " after that, I will recall you ;" and in course of time they were recalled to Hastinápur. But " after many days" Dhritaráshtra desired the Pándavas to go to Khándava-prastha, and take possession of their share of the Ráj, and Yudishthira went to the country on the banks of the Jumna, " and collected such a number of inhabitants that the city resembled the city of Indra, and the city was named Indraprastha."†

But the origin of this name has been differently accounted for: according to some, the city was dedicated to Indra and called after him, while according to others, it indicates the city where Indra gave a *prastha* (forty-eight double handfuls) to the poor ; on the other hand, philologists, who prefer to follow Professor Wilson, maintain, that Indraprastha signifies the plain of Indra, the word *prastha*, means

* She is supposed to have been the daughter of Sura, the grandfather of Krishna.

† The Jumna now flows over a mile from the supposed site of Indraprastha.

anything "spread out and extended," and hence an open space. This interpretation is popular with the common people who, to this day, continue to call the walled city of Indrapat, *Indra-ka-Kherá* or the plain of Indra.

Indraprastha is supposed to have been founded about the year 1450 B. C., a date which receives the sanction of General Cunningham's authority, who, on grounds which I need not reproduce here, considers it "more worthy of credit than any other Hindu dates of so remote a period."

Authorities are again divided as to the probable date when Indraprastha succeeded Hastinápur as the capital of Northern India. Hastinápur,* having been submerged by the Ganges in the reign of Dastwán, the seventh king from Yudishthira, Dastwán went in search of a capital in the South country, and established himself there for a time; he, however, returned afterwards to Indraprastha, and made it the capital of the Pándu empire. According to the Vishnu Purána, Nichakra, the sixth king from Yudishthira, removed the capital to Kausambi, "in consequence of Hastinápur being washed away by the Ganges," but tradition inclines to the opinion that the transfer of the seat of the Pándu empire from Hastinápur to Indraprastha occurred some time in the thirteenth century before the Christian era, in the reign of Rája Dastwán, also known as Rája Námi.

For thirty generations, in direct descent from Yudishthira to Kashimaka (*i. e.*, from the 15th to the 7th century, B. C.), Indraprastha continued the capital of the Pándava Ráj, and it is not unlikely that when Visarwa, the military minister of the last Pándu Rája, with whom he was "connected by blood," usurped royal authority, that Indraprastha lost the ascendancy which she had acquired in the affairs of Northern India. But she still continued the capital of three successive dynasties; of the Visarwas, who numbered fourteen persons; of the Gautamas, who were fifteen, and Mayuras, who were nine, the last of whom, Ráj Pál or Rangpál, invaded Kumaon and was slain by Sukwanta, the Rája of that place, and Indraprastha was annexed to the Raj. Twelve years later, Sukwanta himself was overcome by Vikramáditya,

* According to Wilford, between the 6th and the 8th generations after the Mahá Bhárata.

the Raja of Ujain, who overthrew "the Pándu sovereignty and the era of Yudhisthira."*

Long before its conquest by the Kumaon Rája, Indraprastha had probably ceased to exist as a city of any importance. During the reigns of the powerful Guptas, Palibothra was the capital city of the paramount state in Northern India. Greek writers, more or less conversant with Northern India, were ignorant of the existence of Indraprastha. Arrian notices Mathura by precisely the same name it bears now, but he knew nothing of Indraprastha, nor does Fabian mention her name, although he traversed the country from Kábul to Mathura in 400 A. D.†

Colonel Tod's references to "Indraprastha or Delhi," which so constantly occur in his notice of the Pándavas, would lead one to suppose that the writer entertained no doubt of the identity of the two cities; he even goes the length of calling Sántanu "sovereign of Delhi," regardless of the fact that the name of Delhi does not occur for centuries after Sántanu had ceased to reign.

Whatever might be the weight of the doubts attaching to the origin of the name or the date of the foundation of Indraprastha, the probable site of this ancient city is less open to question. But the certainty on the subject is due, not to the presence of any ruins or architectural remains, or to the authority of any record—but to tradition, and to tradition alone.‡

Mr. Wheeler believes that the site of Indraprastha is more distinctly indicated than that of Hastinápur; on the road to the Qutb, he says, there are "a number of desolate heaps, the debris of thousands of years, the remains of successive capitals which date back to the very dawn of history; and local tradition points to these sepulchres of departed ages as the sole remains of the Ráj of the sons of Pándu, and their once famous city of Indraprastha." I have not been able to find

* Colonel Tod evidently refers here to the founder of the Samvat.

† Elliot's letter to the Secretary, Archæological Society, Delhi, Part 2.

‡ In a paper read before the Literary Society of Delhi, Pandit Basheshar Náth expressed his opinion that Indraprastha extended from the village of Okla to that of Barári.

any authority for this statement, either in tradition or history. Equally without authority does Colonel Tod write of the "monuments of Indraprastha," of "the memorials of (her) former grandeur," or, when residing in the mausoleum of Safdar Jang, describes it as standing "amidst the ruins of Indraprastha, several miles from inhabited Delhi." Of Palibothra, though its site is hopelessly lost in the mist of Grecian names and Grecian geography, we seem to know more in other respects than of the city of Yudishthira. We are told that it was 80 furlongs long and 15 broad, that it was surrounded by a ditch which took up six acres of ground and was 32 cubits deep, that the walls of the city were adorned with 570 towers and 64 gates, and that the "ditch was for the defence of the city, and the reception of all the filth issuing from thence."

No ruins or "the *debris* of thousands of years" mark the ground where Indraprastha once flourished; even on its supposed site, cities have since appeared and disappeared; and although tradition points to the walled village of Indrapat as the inheritor of the name and a portion of the site of Indraprastha, the extent of this ancient city cannot now be ascertained. It is generally believed to have occupied the extensive piece of ground which covers the site of Indrapat, and stretches northward to the Delhi gate of modern Delhi. General Cunningham would fix its southern boundary at or about Humáyún's tomb, and its northern at the Kotlah of Firozsháh; these limits have the disadvantage of not including the sacred ghát of Nigambodh, so intimately connected with the city of Yudishthi a. I am disposed to place the northern boundary of Indraprastha between the northern and southern boundaries of modern Delhi; and to fix it, on the authority of tradition, at the north-eastern end of the street called Dariba, —almost in the very heart of the modern city. The subject, however, is completely involved in fables and doubtful tradition, and it is impossible to write on it with greater confidence; with so little of reliable materials before us, it would be idle to answer the questions, as some writers have endeavoured to do, as to whether Indraprastha was equal in size to Lál Kot or smaller than the Fort of Prithiráj?

Mr. Wheeler's description of Hastinápur might, without any objection, be applied to Indraprastha: that, it was a city of

huts and brick built houses, with a palace of similar construction " with some pretension to strength, all occupied by a nondescript population" of herdsmen, mechanics, cultivators, petty shopkeepers and retainers.

Of the festivities which took place in Indraprastha, we have sounding and elaborate accounts in the Máhá Bhárata, but we have no description of the city itself. We read of splendid double-storied pavilions provided for the Rájas who attended the ceremony of Rajasúya (the inauguration of an independent Rája), exaggerated descriptions of the walls and the ornaments of the pavilions ; we are told that, on this occasion, " the whole city of Indraprastha resounded with the chanting of Vedic hymns"—we hear of the " wonders" that were seen in the city on that occasion, but we learn nothing of the city itself.

During the short but prosperous reign of Yudishthira, Indraprastha might have eclipsed " the glories of Hastinápur," nevertheless it was the second city of the empire. After the war of Máhá Bhárata, Yudishthira made his triumphal entry into Hastinápur as the capital of Bhárat-varsha ; it was there that he performed the horse sacrifice, Aswamedha, and it was there also that he divided his empire, giving Hastinápur to Parikshit, the son of Arjuna, and Indraprastha to Jujutsu, the only surviving son of Dhritarástra.

Nigambodh.—Tradition assigns to two spots, on the banks of the Jumna, the honor of being the only contemporary memorials of Indraprastha : *viz.* the ghát of Nigambodh and the Hindu temple known as Nilichatri. The size of the ghát, as it existed at the time of Yudishthira, we have no means of knowing ; but we may safely accept the tradition which places it in the vicinity of Fort Salímgarh, and in front of the gate of the modern city of Delhi, which bears its name. It was here that Yudishthira, after performing the horse sacrifice, is said to have celebrated the *hom,** and five thousand years ago, according to mythology, that Brahma, having suddenly lost the memory of

* Offerings of ghee presented to the gods in sacrificial ladles, with samples of vegetables and medicinal herbs.

the sacred books, recovered it by plunging into the waters of the Jumna; hence, the origin of the name which consists of two words, *Nigam,* signifying the Ved, and *Bodak,* knowledge.

The buildings which now stand on the grounds of this ghát do not go farther back into antiquity than a period of about a hundred and thirty-seven years. It was in the year 1737 that the Hindus were permitted to erect rooms here, buildings which still exist and extend in front of the Nigambodh Gate, to the north, in the direction of the Kela Ghát Gate to about twenty yards, and to the south down to the bend of the Jumna, in front of what was once known as the Calcutta Gate of Delhi. The new ghâts consist of low, open-pillared stone built rooms, sometimes with walls only on two sides, and with stone steps leading to the water; the rooms are irregularly built, both as regards their dimensions and the distance to which they extend into the river, or at which they stand from the walls of the modern city.

The *Marghat,* or the place of cremation, is to the south of the Nigambodh Gate; a wall still marks the spot where the Hindus used to burn their dead before the Mutiny of 1857. It is now closed for purposes of cremation.

There is a gathering of Hindus at the Nigambodh every morning; fairs are held here on Sundays, on the first and the fifteenth of every Hindu month, every day while the sun continues in the sign of *Virgo,* and during the whole of the month of *Katak*; at full moon, and the eclipses; at the festivals of Dewali, the two Daseras, the Rath Játhra, Janam Ashtami and Narsing Chaudas.

Nilichatri.—The temple known as Nilichatri stands on the Jumna and is about five minutes walk to the south of the Nigambodh, and within thirty paces of the North Gate, and the Bahádur Shâhi gate (both now closed) of fort Salímgarh. Near this spot Yudhisthira, after celebrating the *hom,* had erected a temple of which the memory alone lives. The present temple is generally believed to have been built in the year 939 Hijri, (1532 A. D.) by Humáyún, Emperor of Delhi, who used it as a pleasure house. He is also said to have ornamented its roof with the enamelled stones of a more ancient building. I am disposed, however, to agree

with Pandit Basheshar Náth, who is supported by no less an authority than General Cunningham, that the temple, as it now stands, was built by the Mahrattas during their short occupation of Delhi. In 1028 Hijri, (1618 A. D.) Jahángír arrived at Delhi on his way to Kashmir, and put up an inscription on stone in some conspicuous part of the temple, as it then stood, and two years later, on his return from Kashmir, he left a similar memorial of his visit; the stones are no longer in existence. English translations of the inscriptions are given below :—

(I) O, The Revealer!

When the King of the seven Climes, Núr-uddín Jahángír Bádsháh Ghází, purposed to travel in the paradise-like Kashmir, from his capital, Agra, this verse came to his inspired tongue:

God is Great!

The Impromptu of Jahángír Sháh Akbar,
What a graceful place [the giver] of delight,
The seat of the Dweller in Paradise,*

The 14th year of the reign of Jahángír, corresponding with 1028 [Hijri.]

(II) O, The Protector!

When the Emperor, the Protector of the world, returned from Kashmir—the grateful to the heart—and honored with his presence this place of grace, he ordered that this verse should also be engraved:

God is Great!

Humáyún Sháh son of Sháh Bábar,
His pure blood is [drawn] from the Sáhib Qirán. [Amír Timúr]

The sixteenth year of the propitious reign of Jahángír, corresponding with 1030 [Hijri.]

That the present temple stands on the site of some more ancient building, may or may not be true; if it was at one time the pleasure house of Humáyún, we know nothing of the date or the means of its subsequent possession by the Hindus, unless, indeed, it was made over to them by the Maharatta conquerors of Delhi, as it is generally supposed to have been.

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* The title of Humáyún after his death.

From the road which runs between Salímgarh and Nilichatri, the spectator can only see the pyramidal roof of the latter, the back of the temple being completely lost in the bed of the new road, and the roof has the appearance of a small enamelled pyramid placed on the northern side of the road. The base of this pyramid is about 14 feet square, resting on an ornamental band about two feet wide, and covered with enamelled stones representing flowers, grotesque forms, half-human figures, with the wings and tail of a peacock; the stones, however, are so arranged as to join the tail of a bird to a flower, or the upper part of a human figure to some other object with which it could not possibly have been associated by the original builder. The band on which the pyramid stands is not seen all round it, as with the back of the temple a fourth of the band is lost in the road. The side of the pyramid which faces the road is covered with small blue enamelled stones; on its opposite, or the river side face, there are bright coloured enamelled stones representing ornamental designs of flowers and leaves. The greater portion of the eastern face of the pyramid is covered with blue enamelled stones relieved, here and there, with stones of a brighter colour; and the western face is covered with stones representing flowers and ornamental designs, but chiefly flowers.

Seven steps from the road take the visitor down to the floor of the temple. The temple itself, which consists of a single room, is 14½ feet square and, to the apex of its pyramidal roof, about 50 feet high; it is built of the common stone of the country, with plain granite pillars marking off the two doors in the north wall, the only entrances into the shrine; the doors are about 5 feet 7 inches high, and 2 feet 9 inches wide. On the right of the temple, there is a side room for the use of the priest. In the centre of the temple, there is a *ling* covered with cloth; there are also several small marble idols; a couple of bells hang from the centre of the roof, and are rung during prayers. A niche on the back wall of the room is lighted up in the evening with small earthen lamps.*

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* "*Ling*" in its primitive acceptation means a sign, a mark; the peasantry of the wilder parts of India still use rounded blocks of stone as the mark of the Divinity.—J. D. Cunningham, *Journal Asiatic Society Bengal*, 1847.

Dilli.*—We are still treading on speculative grounds, and the solution of the difficulty suggested to the Delhi Archæological Society by Sir Henry Elliot, as to "when Delhi succeeded to Indraprastha," is still involved in doubts, which all the learned labor that has since been devoted to the question, has not helped us in clearing up. No contemporary record of this *succession* exists; but we may accept it as historically true, that in the first century after the Christian era, Vikramáditya of Ujain invaded the territory that once went by the name of Indraprastha,—then occupied by its Kumaon conqueror, Sukwanta—and annexed it to his own kingdom.† Whether the name *Dilli* was then substituted for that of Indraprastha, or by a course of events unknown to history it superseded that of the capital of Yudishthira, it is impossible to decide. Accepting it as a fact, that there is no mention of Dilli till its occupation by Vikramáditya, that is about 78 A. D., then it is not possible that its name was known to any of the Grecian historians who have given an account of India. Neither is it mentioned in the later records of the historians of the Muhammadan invasions, which bring us down to the eleventh century of the Christian era. It was not the capital of Vikramáditya who came from Ujain; it was not the capital of the powerful Guptas (78 to 319 A. D.); nor of the great kings of Kanauj (550 to 650 A. D.); it was not known to the Chinese pilgrims Fa Hian and Hwen Thsang who visited the country and its neighbourhood (600 to 640 A. D.); nor was it famous enough to attract the cupidity of Mahmúd of Ghazni, or the notice of the historians of his Indian conquests. Al Birúni, who has the credit of "presenting a picture of the Mussalman knowledge of India at the end of the tenth century," who "lived many years in India and learnt Sanskrit in the time of Mahmúd's invasion," never mentions Dilli.‡ He had heard of Kanauj, Mahúra (Mathúra) and Thanesar, and in giving the distances of several important

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* Known as Dilli to Hindu writers, and as Dehli to the Muhammadan. The authorized spelling, under Punjab Government Notification 1942, 1st December 1874, is Delhi.

† According to Mr. Talboys Wheeler, it ceased to be a royal abode for eight centuries on its conquest by Vikramáditya from the Kumaon Rája, but when it was re-established by Anang Pál, the name of Delhi superseded that of Indraprastha. I prefer to follow General Cunningham, whose opinion is supported by all reliable native authorities.

‡ Elliot's History of India, Vol. 1, p. 42.

cities from Kanauj, he notices Mirat, Pánipat, and Kaithal, but does not notice Dilli. 'Utbí, the author of the *Táríkh Yamíní, par excellence* the historian of Mahmúd, was not aware of the existence of any such place, although four great cities in its neighbourhood had been sacked by the Ghaznavi conqueror. 'Utbí describes the passage of the Jumna, the capture of Mathúra, the conquest of Kanauj, but he had evidently not heard of Dilli. With so much of historical neglect to account for, it is impossible to resist the inference that when Mahmúd of Ghazni invaded India, Dilli was an obscure town.

Before I proceed to determine the site of Dilli, on which authorities of great weight are at issue, I purpose to give an account of the traditions connected with the origin of its name, and with the history of its supposed founders.

The accounts which ascribe it to Rája Dalip are discarded by all ; admitting, as we do, that Indraprastha was more ancient than Dilli, the latter could not have been founded by one of the ancestors of Yudishthira.*

Equally apocryphal is the well known tradition, that it was built by a member of the Ton-war family in the year 919 B. C., and was called Dhili from the Hindi word *dhili* (loose), the soil of the place being too soft to hold tent pegs.

There is yet a third account of the foundation of this city, one which native writers who disbelieve the first two, consider more reliable, but which in my opinion is hardly more credible. It is said that one Rája Delu, king of Kanauj, who held Dilli as a subject kingdom, had a Governor there of the name of Sarúp Data, who built a city on the deserted site of Indraprastha, and called it Delu after his paramount Lord, the King of Kanauj. In support of this opinion, it is stated that Dilli was also called Delu, and the poet Amír Khusrau is quoted as an authority on the subject :

> Either grant me a horse, or order a baggage horse from the stable,
> Or command me, that I may sit in a cart and go to Delu.

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* Mr. Beglar's speculations tending to show that the city of Delhi existed contemporaneously with Indraprastha, possess no historical value.

But it also appears that King Delu lived in the year 328 B. C., and that he was a contemporary of Porus, that he was overcome by him, and that Dilli was held by the conqueror who was also the king of Kumaon.

That the city of Dilli was founded by some Rája of that name is highly probable, but it is useless to speculate for any greater amount of certainty either on the date or the exact circumstances of its foundation.

According to General Cunningham, the name of Dilli first occurs about the time when a Rája of Kumaon, having conquered the place, was in his turn overcome by Vikramáditya of Ujain, and of this event we are told that, there are four different versions; firstly, in the conquest of Delu by king Porus of Kumaon; secondly, in that of Rája Pál of Dilli by Rája Sukwanta of Kumaon, both of whom fell under the arms of one Vikramáditya. General Cunningham considers the two stories exactly the same. Thirdly, in that of Rája Nilaghpati of Dilli by a Raghuvansi Rája named Sonkhdhwaj, who again is overcome by Vikramáditya of Ujain; and fourthly, in the deposition of King Rasal of Hind by a rebel who in his turn is conquered by Barkamarys.*

Of the several dates given by different authorities of the foundation of Dilli, the only one which it is necessary to notice is that of General Cunningham, but I must confess that the grounds of his opinion do not appear to me altogether satisfactory, nor does the General himself regard them as such.

He adopts Abu Rihán's opinion that the Vikramáditya who conquered the Hill Rája lived about 135 years after Vikramáditya who founded the era, (*i. e.* in the year 78 A. D.); identifies the former with Sáliváhana, the founder of the *Saka Era*, who, like Vikramáditya the conqueror of the Sakas, is said to have reigned for ninety years, and finally fixes the date of the defeat of the Saka conqueror of Dilli in 78 A. D., which is the initial year of the Saka era.

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* Abul Fazl describes Delhi as "one of the ancient cities, the capital of Indrapat;" the author of *Mirath-áftáb-numá* relates the story of king Porus and Rája Delu, on the authority of *Nushat-ul-Kulúb.*

General Cunningham then considers it safe to place the foundation of Dilli, at some earlier period, and that "perhaps the date of 57 B. C. or contemporary with Vikramáditya, as recorded by Ferishta, may not be far from the truth."

As regards the site of Dilli, the difference of opinion between native authorities and General Cunningham is equally remarkable. The former believe, and tradition is decidedly in their favor, that ancient Dilli was built on the ruins of Indraprastha, and that when it was re-peopled by Anang Pál, the founder of the Ton-war dynasty, it occupied the present site of Puráná Qil'ah. According to General Cunningham, ancient Dilli and Indraprastha were two distinct cities, and about five miles apart; the former he places on the ridge, near the celebrated Iron Pillar, which he believes to be one of the memorials of ancient Dilli.

It is not easy to determine on which side the advantage of argument lies; those who rely on tradition lose little as regards the weight of authority. It is by no means unlikely that ancient Dilli was founded on the site of Indraprastha, once the capital of a powerful empire, and that Anang Pál, I, thought it better suited his ambitious views to restore this ancient city than to found a new one; this opinion is supported by Abul Fazl, and it has since been followed by every native historian of reputation. That in the accounts of the early Muhammadan kings, Puráná Qil'ah is also called Qil'ah Indrapat, is in support of the theory adopted by the traditionary party.

On the other hand, General Cunningham's position is one possibly of greater strength. It does not appear to me, however, a matter of "tolerable certainty that the Iron Pillar must have been erected in some conspicuous position, either within the old city, or close to it." I am taking it for granted that General Cunningham is here speaking of the city which was occupied by Sukwanta for thirteen years and which was eventually conquered by Vikramáditya.

Whether or not the Iron Pillar occupies its original position, it is impossible to say; we know nothing of its maker,

but what I consider the strong points of General Cunningham's theory may be observed in reasoning back from the recent to the more distant past. There can be no doubt that Anang Pál, II, re-peopled Dilli in Samvat 1109, (A. D. 1052) ; this fact is recorded on the pillar and it may justify the inference that the city he "re-peopled" must have been the Dilli of Anang Pál, I; admitting this, it would be difficult to argue that the Iron Pillar which bears this inscription could have been placed at any considerable distance from the city of which it was a memorial. Again, if Anang Pál, I, is justly entitled to the credit of having refounded Dilli, this could hardly be the case if he had founded a city five miles from the site of the older city which bore the same name.

If we believe General Cunningham's theory, we must set aside all that tradition says on the subject, and the authority of the most eminent of native historians, who have followed tradition. If we discredit his theory, we must be prepared to deny that Anang Pál, I, "re-founded" Dilli ; that Anang Pál, II, "re-peopled" the same place, and that the Iron Pillar which bears the record of the latter event marks its site, and that the history of Rai Pithora's capital is in any way connected with the history of that city.

The well known tradition that after the defeat of the Saka Rája by Vikramáditya, Dilli was abandoned for 792 years is explained by most writers alike, and it is supposed to be the term of years during which Dilli ceased to be the capital of the Pándu Ráj.* According to native historians, Anang Pál, I, removed his capital from Kanauj, and established himself at Indraprastha about 676 A. D., and in course of time his new capital was known as Dilli; according to General Cunningham the city of Dilli was re-built by Anang Pál, I, about 731 or 736 A. D.

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* According to Colonel Tod, Indraprastha remained without a sovereign,—the supreme authority having been removed from northern to southern India,—till the fourth or according to some authorities, the eighth century after Vikramáditya, when the throne of Yudhisthira was once more occupied by the Ton-war tribe of Rajputs, claiming descent from the Páudus. To this ancient capital thus reformed, the new appellation of Delhi was given, and the dynasty of the founder, Anang Pál, I, lasted to the 12th century, when Anang Pál, III, abdicated in favour of his grandson Prithi Rája, otherwise known as Rai Pithora.

As regards General Cunningham's opinion that during this interval of 792 years, Dilli was once at least the seat of Government, on the authority of the inscription of Rája Dháva, or that it was temporarily restored to some importance by an usurper of that name, I am inclined to accept Dr. Bhau Daji's translation of the inscription, and Mr. Edward Thomas's opinion, that King Dháva has not been identified "with any potentate named in local annals, or with any sovereign whose place in history might be determined approximately from associations."

Abul Fazl's mistake in placing the re-foundation of Dilli by the Ton-war in the fourth century of the Christian era is satisfactorily disposed of, both by General Cunningham and Syud Ahmed Khán. General Cunningham accounts for it on the supposition that the author of the Ain-i-Akbari had accepted the Balabhi Samvat 429 for that of Vikramáditya; the initial year of the Balabhi era is the 319th of that of Christ, and the Balabhi Samvat 429, would, therefore, be 747 A. D. Similarly he explains that the date of the re-building of Dilli on the Iron Pillar refers to Samvat 419 of the *Balabhi era*, which, with the addition of 318 years, would give the year 737 A. D. He also quotes from *Nuh Sipihr* of Amír Khusrau, a reference to Anang Pál, I, who is described as "a great Rai who lived five or six hundred years ago," which, with reference to the date when the poet wrote, gives the date of Anang Pál, I, between 700 and 800 A. D.

Both General Cunningham and Syud Ahmed Khán quote the following anecdote from *Nuh Sipihr*, but while the former gives the lions a place in the neighbourhood of the Iron Pillar, the latter locates them at Puráná Qil'ah:

"At the entrance of his (Anang Pál's) palace, he had placed two lions, sculptured in stone. He fixed a bell by the side of the two lions, in order that those who sought justice might strike it, upon which the Rai would listen to their complaints and render justice." Syud Ahmed Khán also adds that the stone lions were in existence in 1318 A. D.; but their subsequent fate is not known to history.

That Dilli was the capital of Anang Pál, II, who re-built a more ancient city of the same name, is very likely to be

true, but I have already shewn that when Mahmúd Ghaznavi invaded India in the eleventh century of the Christian Era, it was an obscure city of which the Muhammadans either heard nothing or were content to spare for its insignificance.

The Iron Pillar or Loha-ki-Lat.*—I consider this the most appropriate place for an account of the celebrated Iron Pillar which Mr. Prinsep ascribes to one Rája Dháva, a prince of unknown lineage and descent. Of the original location of this Pillar or its age, we have no trustworthy account, but tradition, silent as to its maker, attributes its erection to Anang Pal, I, and places it in the temple of Rai Pithora. When that temple was converted into a mosque by Qutb-uddín Aibek, the pillar was permitted to stand where it was, but neither tradition nor history discloses the name of its maker or his object in making it.†

The Pillar itself is a solid shaft of wrought iron ‡ Syud Ahmed calls it *cast iron*, but the majority of travellers and others who have written about the pillar describe its material as "mixed metal," "brass," "bronze," "composition," but Jacquemont calls it "soft iron." Dr. Murray Thompson, who analysed a small bit of the pillar for General Cunningham was of opinion that the metal was "pure malleable iron of 7·66 specific gravity." Dr. Bhau Daji however persists in his statement that "iron forms no portion of the monument, and that it is a compound of several metals."

The total height of the pillar is exactly 23 feet and 8 inches, of which, before the present *chabútra* or platform was constructed, about 22½ feet were above and about fourteen inches below ground. "The base is an irregular knob in shape, resting on several little pieces like bits of bar-iron, let into the stone underneath, and secured with lead."

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* It is universally known to the natives as Loha-ki-Lát or the Iron Pillar.

† Dr. Bhau Daji, evidently does not believe that the Pillar stands where it did when the so-called "Dhava inscription" was engraved on it. According to him, it was set up in a temple dedicated to Vishnu. "It is difficult," says he, "to make out where the temple of Vishnu and the Vishnu pada-giri were situated, although in the Masjed or the buildings around, there are stones which originally belonged to Jain, Saiva and Vaishnavee temple, of the 10th or 11th century of the Christian era."

‡ According to Chand, "the King demanded 100 seers of iron and had it hammered well, then the smiths were summoned who made a shaft five hands long."—*Canto I. Prithi-rój-raysa.*

The capital of the pillar is about three and a half feet long ; the smooth portion of the shaft is fifteen feet long, the rest is rough, and shows defective welding. The lower diameter of the shaft is 16·4 inches, and the upper diameter is 12·05 inches. The pillar has evidently been fired at with match-locks, and twice marked with cannon balls, which grazed the side but did not touch the centre of the pillar.

The legends connected with the Iron Pillar are numerous but pretty generally known. General Cunningham has collected all that is worth preserving. As already stated, the pillar was erected by Anang Pál, also known as Belán Deo, the founder of the Ton-war dynasty. He was assured by a holy Brahman that, the pillar having been firmly driven into the head of Sahes Nág, the serpent king, his empire would be as permanent as the pillar ; the Rája, however, was incredulous and anxious to test a prophecy of such deep importance to his dynasty, he ordered the pillar to be removed, when, to his horror, the foot of the pillar, which had pierced the serpent's head, was found wet with blood. All attempts again to fix the pillar proved of no avail : it stood *loose* in the ground, the serpent was gone, and the event is remembered in the well known verse :—

Killí to dhillí bhai,
Tomár bhaya mat hin.

The pillar has become loose,
The Tomar's wish will not be fulfilled.

The same legend is variously related, but its essentials are retained in the several versions. The poet Chand devotes a whole book of his *Prithiraj Rayasa to Killí-Dhilli-Katha,—story of the Loose Pillar ;* but his account is substantially what has been given above, although Chand places the occurrence in the reign of Anang Pál II. ; Kharg Rai, the Gwalior Bhát, refers it to a date as early as 736 A. D., while Syud Ahmed Khán would have us believe that it occurred in the reign of Rai Pithora, the last Hindu King of Delhi.

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* Mr. Wheeler calls it "the Pillar of the Pándavas."

According to Chand, Anang Pál II., consulted the sage Vyas, as to an auspicious hour for holding a great festival in honor of the birth of his grandson ; the sage replied :

" Now is the lucky time, your dynasty will become immoveable, and its root will strike into the head of Sahes Nág. But the Rája was incredulous, when Vyas, taking an iron, drove it down 60 fingers deep until it reached the serpent's head, and drawing it out, he showed it to the Rája covered with blood. Then addressing Anang Pál, he said : " Your Kingdom, like the spike, has become unstable :

" So said Vyas Jagjoti, these things will come to pass,
Tomár, then Choháns, and presently Turks."*

The Iron Pillar may be said to be more remarkable for the inscriptions which it bears than as a successful work of art. Of these inscriptions, the most ancient and the best preserved dates back, according to some authorities, to the fourth, and according to others, to the sixth century of the Christian era Even so late as in 1828, Captain Archer, who accompanied Lord Combermere on his tour in the "North-West," describes the inscription as one of unknown antiquity, and which " nobody can read." In 1844, Lieutenant William Elliot made a copy of the inscription at the request of Dr. Mill, of Bishop's College, but the work was so " ingeniously mismanaged that not a single word could be made out!" Four years later, Captain Burt, of the Bengal Engineers, was more successful, and the greatest of our Indian Antiquaries, the late Mr. James Prinsep, published the original inscription with a modern Nagri transliteration and an English translation, in the seventh volume of the *Journal of the Asiatic Society of Bengal.* To Mr. Prinsep's transliteration and translation objections have been taken by Dr. Bhau Daji, of Bombay, in a paper of " Remarks" read by that learned gentleman to the members of the Asiatic Society of that place, on the 13th of April 1871.

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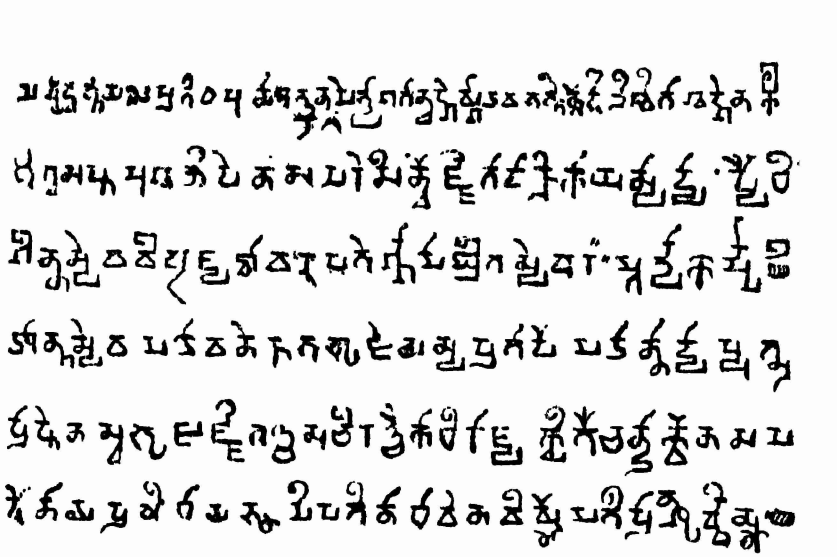
* A writer in the *Calcutta Journal,* who visited Delhi about forty years ago was told by the natives of the place that two successful attempts were made to destroy the pillar. Nádir Sháh ordered the earth to be removed from its foundation, but the workmen could not proceed with their work ; the serpent shook its head, which caused a violent earthquake. The second attempt was made by the Maharattas, who brought a heavy cannon to bear upon it, but did no other damage than leave a mark upon it.

The character of the inscription is ancient Nágri, the date of which Mr. Prinsep, who is followed by General Cunningham, refers to the third or fourth century of the Christian era. Mr. Edward Thomas, however, considers this "too high an antiquity for the style of writing employed on the monument." General Cunningham considers the character of the letters "to be exactly the same as those of the Gupta inscriptions," but Dr. Bhau Daji, whose opinion is adopted by the best Sanscrit scholars of Delhi, gives them a later date than the time of the Guptas—

"The cross line across the top of each letter," he writes, "is only seen after the time of the Guptas. The letters correspond most to the incriptions of the Mankhari dynasty on two viharas or caves in Behar, *viz.*, those of Ananta Varma at Nagarjuna and Bárábara. The alphabet belongs in my opinion to the end of the fifth or beginning of the sixth century of the Christian era."

The composition of the inscription is poetical, consisting of six lines or three *slokas;* the first line of which is in much smaller hand than the rest. For a copy of the inscription itself, we are indebted to Major Burt's "Excursion," a valuable work, now out of print.



The following is Mr. Prinsep's Nagri transliteration of the inscription :

येनाहवमयतः प्रतीकमुरसि शत्रून्समेत्यागतान्वङ्गे-
ष्वाहवर्तिनो विलिखितं खड्गेन कीर्त्या भुजं । १
तीर्त्वा सप्तमुखानि येन समरे सिन्धोर्जितावाह्लिका य
स्याद्याप्यधिवास्यते जलनिधिर्वीर्यान्वितैर्दक्षिणः ॥२॥
सिंहस्येव विसृज्य गां नरपतेर्गामाश्रितस्योत्तरां मूर्त्या क
र्म्मचिता यनिधुर्त्तवतः कीर्त्या स्थितस्य क्षितौ । ३
शान्तस्येव महावने हुतभुजो यस्य प्रतापो महा
नाद्याप्युत्सृजती प्रणाशितरिपोर्यत्नस्य लेखः क्षितौ ॥२॥ ४
प्राप्तेन स्वभुजार्जितञ्च सुचिरञ्चैकाधिराज्यं क्षितौ चन्द्रा
र्कौ गतसमग्र चन्द्रसदृशीं वक्त्रश्रियं बिभ्रता । ५
तेनायं प्रणिधायभूमिपतिना भावेन विष्णौ मतिं प्राङ्
मुखेन विष्णुपदे गिरौ भगवतो विष्णोर्ध्वजः स्थापितः ॥३॥ ६

The following Nágri transliteration of the same inscription is extracted from Dr. Bhau Daji's "Remarks" already referred to :—

यस्योद्वर्त्तयतः प्रतीपमुरसः शत्रून्समेत्यागता-
न्वङ्गेष्वाहवर्वर्त्तिनोविलिखिता खड्गेनकीर्त्तिर्भुजे
तीर्त्वासप्तमुखानियेनसमरे सिन्धोर्जिता वाह्लिका
यस्याद्याप्यधिवास्यतेजलनिधिर्वीर्यानिलैर्दक्षिणः
खिन्नस्येव विसृज्य गांनरपतेर्गामाश्रितस्येनग
मूर्त्या कर्म्म चिता वनीं गतवतः कीर्त्या स्थितस्य क्षितौ
शान्तस्येव महावने हुतभुजो यस्य प्रतापो महा
नाद्याप्युत्सृजति प्रणाशितरिपोर्यत्नस्य लेशः क्षितौ
प्राप्तेनस्वभुजार्जितञ्च सुचिरं चैकाधिराज्यं क्षितौ
चंद्राह्वेन समग्र चंद्रसदृशीं वक्त्रश्रियं बिभ्रता
तेनायं प्रणिधायभूमिपतिनाभावेनविष्णौमतिं
प्रांशुर्विष्णुपदे गिरौभगवतो विष्णोर्ध्वजः स्थापितः

The following is Mr. Prinsep's translation of the inscription:—

1*st Slok.*—" By him, who, hearing the warlike preparations and entrenchments of his enemies, with their good soldiers and allies, a monument [or arm] of fame engraved by his sword on their limbs—who, a master of the seven advantages, [same as the seven limbs of Government] crossing over [the Indus ?] so subdued the Váhlikás of Sindhu, that even at this day his disciplined force and defences on the south [of the river] are sacredly respected by them."

2*nd Slok.*—" Who, as a lion seizes one animal on quitting hold of another, secured possession of the next world when he abandoned this—whose personal existence still remains on earth through the fame of his [former] deeds ; the might of whose arm even though [he be] now at rest, [deceased] and some portion too of the energy of him who was the destroyer of his foes still cleave to the earth."

3*rd Slok.*—" By him, who obtained with his own arm an undivided sovereignty on the earth for a long period, who [united in himself the qualities of] the sun and the moon, who had beauty of countenance like the full moon, by this same Rája Dhava having bound his head to the feet of Vishnu, and fixed his mind on him, was this very lofty arm [pillar] of the adored Vishnu caused to be erected."

Dr. Bhau Daji's translates the same inscription as follows:—

" He, on whose arm glory is written with the sword, when he repeatedly turned back his combined enemies in the battle field in the Vangas (Bengal ?) ; who, having swam across the seven mouths of the Sindhu (Indus), conquered the Bálhikas in battle, the breezes of whose prowess still waft incense to the South Sea ; who, having left the earth as if in sorrow, resorted to the other (heaven) ; who went to the land of his deserts (actions) with his (bodily) form, but with his glory remained on this earth ; who destroyed the remnant of his enemies ; whose heroism, like a great smouldering fire in a great jungle, does not yet leave the earth ; and who, by the prowess of his arms, secured in this world an incomparable empire for a long time ; whose countenance was beautiful like the full moon ; this Lord of the earth, named Chandra, having by means of faith in Vishnu, fixed his mind, erected this tall flag-post of Bhagavána Vishnu in Vishnupadagiri (the hill of Vishnu's feet.)"

" My copy," adds Dr. Bhau Daji, " of the inscription differs in every line from the copy published in Prinsep's journal. What is read as ' Dhávena' is really ' Bhávena.' ' Dhvaja' is really ' Bhuja,' and what has been read ' Chandrárkena' is Chandrávhena.' The mistake arises from

adding a curved stroke to the letter Vha on the left side at the middle.'" The learned gentleman then continues: "There is no such name as Dhava, who has hitherto been supposed to be the prince, who erected the pillar in commemoration of his powers. * * I have no doubt that the name of the Raja who constructed the pillar is Chandra Rája. He appears to me to be of the Nerwar kings, whose coins are described by General Cunningham in the *Journal of the Bengal Asiatic Society* (*No. III of* 1865). Amongst the coins delineated is one which has the name "Chandra" on it. General Cunningham, however, supposes this "Chandra" to be Chandragupta of a later date. But among the coins of the Chandraguptas there is none bearing any great similarity to this coin. And as the name is simply "Chandra," there are no good grounds for adding "Gupta" to it."

Syud Ahmed Khán ascribes a greater antiquity to the Pillar than the 3rd century of the Christian era; as regards the inscription, he is of opinion that as it bears no Samvat, it is at least older than 57 B. C. when the era of Vikramáditya came into general use. According to him, the pillar was constructed by Rája Medháva, who was one of the descendants of Yudishthira, and reigned in the year 895 B. C.

I have little hesitation in adopting, on philological grounds, the opinion of Dr. Bhau Daji that the character of the letters of the inscription belong to a later period than that of the Guptas. On the side of this opinion are arrayed the learning of the Delhi Pandits and the critical acumen of Mr. Edward Thomas.

Of the other inscriptions on the pillar, General Cunningham justly remarks, that they are more numerous than important. We have already referred to the inscription of Anang Pál II: "Samvat Dihali 1109 Ang Pál bahi," *i. e.* "In *Samvat* 1109 [1052 A. D.] Ang Pál peopled Dilli." There are two records of the Chohán Rája *Chatra Sinha,* both dated in Samvat 1883 [1826, A. D.], who is said to have been descended from Rái Pithora. The date of Rái Pithora himself is given as Samvat 1151 [1094, A. D.,] which is 99 years too early. There is another modern Nágri inscription of six lines dated in Samvat 1767 [1710 A. D.] of the Bandela Rájas of Chanderi; below this there are two Persian inscrip-

tions, dated in 1060 and 1061 A H., [1651-52 A. D.] which merely record the names of visitors.

Purana Qil'ah.—I have already expressed my opinion on the value of the tradition which points to the walled village of Puráná Qil'ah as the Dilli of Anang Pál I. There can be no doubt however, that there is not a stone there which can confidently be said to belong to the city of the Ton-war. Of Puráná Qil'ah, I shall have to speak at greater length as the Dín Panáh of Humáyún and the citadel of Sher Shah's Delhi.

Lalkot.—We do not know the exact number of the successors of Anang Pál I, who reigned in his refounded Dilli, but General Cunningham states, on the authority of two Hindi manuscripts, that after Anang Pál II, the successor of Kumára Pála, had "peopled Dilli," in the year 1060, A. D., he built a fort near the city which he called Lálkot. The Pandits of Delhi are unable to discover any trace of Lálkot in the writings of their Bháts. Rai Jiwan Lál, one of the best informed native gentlemen of Delhi, is inclined to believe, that, like the Koshak Lál of a later date, Lálkot was a royal residence of which neither Chand, nor the historians of the Muhammadan conquest of Delhi have taken any notice.* Curiously enough, however, the natives of Mahrauli, the village to which these grand ruins belong, seem also to be of opinion that there was a building of some importance close to Pithora's temple which was known in the neighbourhood as Lálkot.†

The silence of Muhammadan historians is a considerable difficulty in General Cunningham's way, and it is especially so when we bear in mind that some of these writers were men of eminence, the chroniclers of a successful invasion

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* General Cunningham remarks, that: "Lálkot has hitherto remained unknown being always described by Musalmans as a part of the fort of Rái Pithora."

† According to Chand, Anang Pál "having heard and considered the words of Vyása, commenced building a palace." *Canto I, Prithiráj-rayása.*

See also, Mr. C. J. Campbell's excellent "Notes" on the Ancient cities of Delhi; *Journal Asiatic Society of Bengal.* Vol. 35, Part I. 206.

and of the permanent occupation of the country by the conquerors. Local tradition vaguely asserts the existence of a royal palace called Lalkot, but the comparative silence of Hindu writers on the subject is a suggestive fact against General Cunningham's identification of a portion of the fort of Rai Pithora as the Lálkot of Anang Pál II. Mr. Beglar has robbed General Cunningham of his best arguments in support of this theory, by excluding from the supposed boundaries of Lálkot the temples destroyed by the Muhammadans, the Iron Pillar, and the dry tank known as Anang Tál. The Lálkot of Anang Pál was very likely a palatial building of red sand stone, which was either improved out of existence by the Choháns, or perished under their neglect.

Anang Tal.—According to tradition, the tánk of Anang Pál II, was at one time a place of general resort, but now it is deserted. It may yet be seen as a deep hollow to the north of the Hindu temple of Yogá Mayá, and about a quarter of a mile to the north west of the Masjid of Quvvat-ul-islám. According to General Cunningham's measurement, it is 169 feet long from north to south, and 152 feet broad from east to west, with a depth of 40 feet.

Syud Ahmed Khán states, that the water of this tank was used for the mortar of the unfinished minar of 'Alá-uddín Khiljí, (A. D. 1296-1316), and the drains which carried the water to the workmen may yet be seen in some places. The tank is now dry, and even in the height of the rains there is not enough of water to keep the dry soil of its base wet for any length of time.

Anekpur.—This village which is renowned for its bund or dam, is situated in the sub-district of Balabgarh, about three miles from Tughlaqábád. The bund of Anekpúr, considering its age and the neglect to which it has been consigned for centuries, is about the most remarkable work of its kind in Northern India. It is built across a gorge 289 feet wide, and to the north of this massive and imposing wall, is the village of Anekpúr with its population of a thousand souls. According to Syud Ahmed Khán, the village with the bund was founded by Anang Pál I., in Samvat 733, (A. D.

676.) According to General Cunningham, who refers the Samvat to the Balabhi era, it was founded by Anang Pál II., in A. D. 1051. On the crest of the hill to the N.-W. of the village are the ruins of a small fort.

The bund wall is a gigantic piece of stone work about 150 wide at the base and about 20 feet high; in the centre of this wall, there is a semihexagonal recess about 60 feet deep and about 215 wide at the base; the wall opposite to the base contains three drains about 8 feet high. These drains run through the whole width of the wall; the grooves on their sides show that the drains were worked with trap doors. On either side of this recess there is a wall about thirty-seven feet long, and covered with a flight of steps; on the opposite side of the wall, there are no steps. Considering the age of the bund and its abandoned condition, it has suffered comparatively little for the 825 years that it has been in existence.

Suraj Kund.—Syud Ahmed Khán, who follows the authority of Hindu Bhats, attributes the construction of this superb tank to Suraj Pál, the fifth son of Anang Pál I., in Samvat 743, (686 A. D.). General Cunningham refers this date to the Balabhi era and makes it correspond with 1061 A. D.

This is a splendid work, and even in its decay, it retains much of its past grandeur. That a work of such importance was constructed in the desert where it now stands, is perfectly incredible, and the ruins which still surround it, attest a once populous locality. The tank occupies about six acres of land, and is situated between the villages of Bahárpúr and Lakkarpúr, in the hilly grounds of Delhi, and about twelve miles from its modern town. The shape of the tank is not round, its west side, to use Mr. Tremlett's words, is "a straight line for nearly its whole length." The tank is surrounded by a series of stone steps, the highest row of which is on the level of the adjacent country; the steps are formed by large blocks of worked stone; "these steps, for a height of nine or ten feet, are about the ordinary width of tank steps, but higher up, the space between successive

steps becomes much wider, and the floor between is covered with cement, so as to form a succession of spacious terraces, running one above the other round the water."*

In the centre of the western side of the tank are the ruins of a temple, to which the visitor is conducted by a flight of about fifty steps, flanked by heavy stone walls. The steps of the temple meet the steps of the ghát at about the middle of the distance between the ruins and the level of the water. On the eastern side, there is a corresponding ghát, in every respect similar to the first; but the ruins on this side, though visible, give one no idea of the original building. In the centre of the northern wall of the tank, there is a smooth ghát for cattle; between this sloping way and the ruins on the western wall, the tank steps are interrupted or perhaps were intentionally abandoned, and the passage here allows the drainage of the neighbouring hills to pour into the tank. The ruins of towers are scattered on the N.-E, S.-E. and N.-W. corners of the tank. On the S.-W. corner, where a tower must have once stood, the ground is perfectly clear; the ruins of the other towers are at a distance of about eight or nine yards from the tank.

At a short distance from the ruins on the N.-E. and S.-E. corners of the tank, there are two abandoned wells and the remains of other ancient buildings now levelled with the ground. On the 21st of Bhadon, an annual fair is held here; a Pipal tree which stands on the south-eastern corner of the tank is held sacred, and the offerings made to it are appropriated by the Brahmans of the villages of Anekpúr and Lakkarpúr.

Kalkaji, or the Temple of Kali Devi.—The worship of Káli Devi dates beyond history and is even ancient for Hindu chronology. "Millions of years" ago, the gods who dwelt in the neighbourhood of the present temple were troubled by two giants and were compelled to prefer

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* Tremlett's "Notes on Delhi." *Journal Asiatic Society, Bengal* Vol. 39, Part II, p. 71. I regret that my friend did not extend his notes to modern as well as ancient Delhi. To the "Notes" of Messrs. Campbell and Tremlett, so full of valuable suggestions, I am much indebted.

their complaint to Brahma, "the god of all." But Brahma declined to interfere, and referred them to the goddess Parbathi. Out of the mouth of Parbathi sprung Kushki Devi, who attacked the giants and slaughtered them, but it so happened, that as their blood fell on the dry earth thousands of giants came into life, and the battle was maintained by Kushki Devi against great odds. Parbathi took compassion on her offspring and out of the eyebrows of Kushki Devi came the monster Káli Devi, "whose lower lip rested on the hills below and her upper lip touched the sky above;" she drank the blood of the slaughtered giants as it poured out of their wounds; and the goddesses obtained a complete victory over their enemies. About 5,000 years ago, Káli Devi fixed her abode here, and she was worshipped as the chief divinity of the place. It is generally believed that the most ancient portion of the present temple was built in the year 1764, A. D., but the antiquity of the worship of Káli Devi is believed to be "at least as old as the reign of Rája Pithora."

The temple of Kálka or Káli Devi stands on the boundary of the historic village of Bahárpúr, and about nine miles from modern Delhi, on the road to Tughlaqábád. Originally, it was a twelve-doored masonry room. The stone which is worshipped as the Káli Devi is placed in the centre of the room, and screened off on three sides with red sand stone and marble railings about six feet high; on the left side of the screen, there are two inscriptions, one in Persian and the other in Hindi, which record the names of the goddess to whom the temple is dedicated and of the builder of the screen:

Sri Durga Singh par sawár—1821 Fasli.
Sri Durga is mounted on a lion—1821 Fasli.

Durga Singh was the name of the individual who built the screen, while Durga, the goddess Káli, is generally represented as riding a lion.

In the year 1816, the Pujáris (priests) proposed the addition of a dome to the temple; but public spirit ran rather low at the time and the promoters of this work referred it to the decision of Káli Devi. The names of the most opulent Hindu gentlemen of Delhi were written on slips of paper and placed before the goddess, who was then called

upon to select the man on whom the work was to devolve. The choice justified the expectations of the priests; the goddess selected Mirza Raja Kedárnáth, the Peshkár of Akbar the Second. The Rája added twelve outer rooms to the temple and surmounted the whole with a lofty Hindu pyramidal dome; each of the rooms has one inner and two outer doors. In front of the temple, there are two tigers of red stone, over the heads of which is hung a bell, which the votaries ring when returning from worship. A large trident of red sand stone stands close to the tigers. Within the last fifty years, rooms have been built in the vicinity of the temple by the Hindu bankers and merchants of Delhi.

At eleven in the morning, sweetmeats are placed in front of the stone and the goddess is believed to partake of them. The stone is completely covered with brocade and red cloth, and at night a small bed is placed before it. A lamp fed with *ghi* burns night and day in the shrine. Punkahs, umbrellas and cloth awnings are still offered to the goddess. A weekly fair is held here on Tuesdays, and on the 8th of Chaith and the 8th of Asauj the temple is visited by crowds of people from Delhi and the neighbouring villages.

The temple of Yoga Maya—About 260 yards from the Iron Pillar, and within a high walled enclosure, stands the temple dedicated to the Yogá Mayá, or the Pure Goddess. According to the Bhágavata Puráná, she was the sister of Krishna. Her original temple is believed to have been built in the time of Yudishthira, although the present building is barely fifty years old. Those who are not over credulous believe that the worship of Yogá Mayá is at least six hundred years old, but in the absence of authorities, it is impossible to ascertain from what period it dates.

The enclosure within which the temple stands is about 400 feet square; at each corner of the square, there is a small tower; most of the buildings within the enclosure, of which inclusive of the temple there are twenty-two, were erected by the order of Sed Mal, an Amír of the time of Akbar the Second. The temple itself, which was built by Sed Mal, has not the slightest pretension to beauty. It stands against a heavy looking building which does not appear to be older than

the temple itself. From the floor of the temple—which was paved with red stone twenty years ago, and is now covered with marble—to its copper gilt pinnacle, it is about 42 feet high. The room where the black stone is placed is about seventeen feet square; the flat roof is surmounted by the usual truncated pyramid with slightly curved sides; the frame of the door of the room is made of marble. The sacred stone is placed in a marble well about two feet wide and a foot deep; it is tenderly concealed in tinsel and cloth, and two small pankahs of the same materials are suspended over it from the ceiling; a four legged marble table, about eighteen inches square and nine inches high, is placed in front of the idol on the floor of the room, and offerings of flowers and sweetmeats are placed on it. Wine and meat are not acceptable to the Yogá Mayá; she even discards bells to which most of the Hindu gods are so partial.

About eight feet in front of the temple there is an iron cage containing two stone tigers. The cage is about five feet square and ten feet high; the passage between the temple and the cage is roofed over with planks and is covered with a light coating of bricks and mortar. From the ceiling of this cover hang four bells for the use of the worshippers.

The goddess has the reputation of being unusually exacting; she abstains from the good things of the world and will not allow her temple to be desecrated by the use of wine and meat, neither will she permit the use of bedsteads within the enclosure of her sanctuary.*

Qil'ah Rai Pithora.—This fort was built by Prithiráj otherwise known as Rái Pithora, the son of Someswara—and grandson of Visála Deo, the Chohán conqueror of Delhi—by the daughter of Anang Pál III. According to General Cunningham, Pithora reigned for a term of 22 years, from the year 1170 to 1191 A. D.; but according to Syud Ahmed Khán, from the year 1141 to 1191 A. D., which gives him

* From time to time additions and improvements have been made to this temple by Lála Hardhán Singh of Delhi.

a reign of 49 years and some months.* Syud Ahmed Khán, on the authority of the *Kholásat-ut-tawárikh*, dates the building of this fort in the year 1143 A. D., while General Cunningham places that event about the year 1180 or 1186 A. D., and relies on his Hindi manuscripts for his date; he also suggests that the fort was intended to protect the city against the aggressive attitude of the Muhammadans in Northern India. The descendants of Mahmúd Ghaznavi had for some time established their rule in the Punjab, and after the accession of Rái Pithora, Muhammad of Ghori had destroyed the Ghaznavi empire at Lahore, and was threatening Hindusthan proper.

The most imposing view of Qil'ah Rái Pithora is that presented by its north-western side; the most complete view may be had from the top of the Qutb Minár. I can have no better starting point for my description of the fort than the tomb of Adham Khán, where the fort wall meets the enclosure wall of the tomb. From this point, the fort wall runs due west for about 400 feet, where it meets a gate, and after a short bend runs in a north-westerly direction for about a quarter of a mile; here, it takes a north-easterly direction—passing the Ranjit Gate—for about two hundred yards, and runs for the same distance more nearly due north-east, where it ends at a large bastion still in a fair state of preservation. This, according to General Cunningham, is the western wall of Lálkot. The ramparts are about 30 feet in thickness, and about 60 feet in height from the bottom of a ditch, which varies in width from 18 to 35 feet. The first gate, to which we have already referred, requires no further description; the Ranjit Gate which General Cunningham identifies with the Ghazni Gate of Muhammadan hostorians, must have been a formidable position with three rows of out works. It is 17 feet wide, and a stone shaft seven feet high for directing the ascent and descent of a portcullis is still in existence. This line of wall ends at the Fateh Búrj, a bastion with a diameter of about 80 feet.†

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* According to Colonel Tod, Rái Pithora was only eight years of age when he was proclaimed successor to the Delhi throne.

† To the north-west of this wall, near the Hauz Khás, as stated by Mr. Beglar, are the ruins of the 'Id-gáh, once "a lofty and extensive building" where Amír Timúr established his Court and Camp before the sack of Delhi.—*Timúr's Autobiography.*

At this point the fort wall ramifies, a lower line of ramparts takes a northerly direction to enclose the city of Rái Pithora, and a higher line runs due east to form its citadel. The latter terminates at a second bastion called the Sohan Búrj, a larger tower than the first, and about two hundred feet from it. There was apparently a gate between the Fateh Búrj and the Sohan Búrj, of which no ruins exist; like the gate near Adham Khán's tomb, it is a deep gap in the fort wall. About 300 feet from Sohan Búrj is the Sohan Gate, also a gap, and from here the ruins of the old wall may be traced, running in a southerly direction down to Adham Khán's tomb, a distance of very nearly half a mile. The walls between these formidable bastions were manned with smaller towers "well splayed out at the base, and 45 feet in diameter at top, with curtains of 80 feet between them. Along the base of these towers which are still 30 feet in height, there is an outer line of wall forming a *raoni* or faussebraie, which is also 30 feet in height."*

At the Sohan Gate, the higher wall divides in two, a line of ruins marks its southward course to Adham Khán's tomb; the second branch runs south-east for about a hundred yards, and then forming an irregular quadrant, with a radius of three hundred yards from a centre which may be placed at the unfinished Minár of 'Alá-uddín Khiljí, it crosses the road to Delhi at about the middle of the arc, and terminates close to the road leading to Tughlaqábád. We have here a gap of about a third of a mile between this point and Adham Khán's tomb. General Cunningham considers this quadrant as a portion of the eastern wall of Lálkot, but his Assistant, Mr. Beglar, confines Lálkot between what has already been described as its western wall, and the ruins of a line of wall which lies between the Sohan Gate and Adham Khán's tomb. Having already expressed my opinion, dissenting from General Cunningham's identification of Anang Pál's Lálkot with the citadel of Rái Pithora's city, his objection that Mr. Beglar is in error in not including the tank of Anang Pál in Lálkot, and Mr. Beglar's opinion that the irregular quadrant was not a portion of Lálkot, need no further notice. On the other hand, in my opinion, Mr. Beglar has satisfac-

* General Cunningham's Archæological Reports. Vol I. p. 181.

torily established that the quadrant was comparatively a more modern extension of the older walls, and that it was not a part of the fortress of which the western and the inner ramparts he has so elaborately described. The grounds of Mr. Beglar's opinions are irresistible; the difference in the material and construction of the two walls is enough to justify the opinion formed by him that the quadrant was not a part of the old fort. Mr. Beglar calls it 'Alá-uddín Khiljí's extension, and in this opinion I agree.

Zíáuddín Barní relates in his *Táríkh-i-Fíroz Sháhí*, that when the Mughals invaded Delhi in 1297, 'Alá-uddín Khiljí found the fortifications of Old Delhi in ruin, the consternation in the city was indescribable, and when the Mughals abandoned the city without even attempting an assault, its deliverance was considered an act of special Providence. Alive to the danger of his position 'Alá-uddín Khiljí ordered the repair of the old walls and the enlargement of the old fort. In 1316, when Qutb-uddín Mubárak Sháh succeeded his brother Shaháb-uddín 'Omar, he ordered the "completion of the city and fort of Delhi, which his father 'Alá-uddín had left in an unfinished state."*

That 'Alá-uddín Khiljí and Mubárak Sháh's additions were on a large scale may be inferred from the remark of Ibn Batuta who visited Old Delhi in 1333 A. D.: he states, that "the lower part of the walls" of the citadel, "is built of stone, the upper part of brick." The former was undoubtedly the work of Hindus and the latter of Muhammadans.

Starting again from the Fateh Búrj where the rampart branches off into two, one branch turns to the east to form the citadel of the city, and the other runs due north; the latter wall, which has the ruins of a gate in the centre, maintains this direction for very nearly half a mile, where it meets the ruins of the northern wall of Jahánpanáh; the wall then runs due south-east for a little over three hundred yards and ends at a gate. Still following a south south-easterly course for half a mile, we come to another gate, and after running for half that distance in the same direction, the wall of Old Delhi meets the second wall of Jahánpanáh, and

* *Nuh Sipihr* of Amir Khusrau.

changes its course due south, leaving spaces for two gates, one of which may with certainty be called the Badáon Gate.

The wall then abruptly takes a south-westerly direction for a distance of a little over half a mile—there is a gate in its centre—it then turns to the west for about three hundred yards to the ruins of a gate. Here occurs a gap three hundred yards wide, and at a distance of four hundred yards from Jamali Masjid, which is the off end of the gap, the wall of Rái Pithora's fort meets that of the tomb of Adham Khán and complete its circuit. The ditch round the fort used to receive the natural drainage of the hilly country to its north and retain the water all the year round.*

I have made an attempt to determine, if possible, the sites of the different gates, which according to the most approved authorities belong to Old Delhi, premising here that some of the gates had changed their names during the subsequent Muhammadan occupation of Rái Pithora's city. Amír Khusrau allots twelve gates to Old Delhi, but I accept the authority of Timúr, since verified by excavations made by Mr. Beglar, that the city had ten gates.

At present I am only concerned with Mr. Beglar's identification of the gates, to the N. E. and S. W. of the Badáon gate with the "Hauz Ráni and the Burkah gates" respectively. A reference to his sketch map of Rái Pithora's fort, which I have re-produced, will convince the reader that the village of Hauz Ráni was nearer the southern wall of Jahánpanáh than the eastern wall of Rái Pithora's city. According to the Malfuzat-i-Timúri, which has been drawn upon so largely and not seldom copied verbatim by Sharafuddín Yazdi in his Zafarnámah—Mr. Beglar's authority—Sultán Mahmúd and Mallú Khán left the fort of Jahánpanáh and fled toward the mountains, the former going out of the Hauz Ráni Gate, and the latter out of the "Baraka Gate." On turning to the Zafarnámah, I find that Yazdi expressly states

* Ibn Batuta who visited old Delhi, in the reign of Muhammad Sháh Tughlaq thus describes the fort wall: "it is eleven cubits thick; chambers are constructed in it which are occupied by the night watch, and the persons charged with the care of the gates. In these chambers also there are stores of provisions, magazines of munitions of war. Grain keeps in these chambers without change or the least deterioration. * * Horse and foot can pass inside this wall from one end of the city to the other."

that the Hauz Ráni and the Baráka gates were "to the south of Jahánpanáh."

We can with some certainty fix the sites of the Ghazni and the Badáon gates, but it is almost impossible to identify the others. I have already referred to the Ghazni Gate in my description of the walls of Qil'ah Rái Pithora. When certain "heretics" attacked the Jam'a Masjid of Old Delhi in 1237 A. D., one party "passing by the Fort of Nur," the locality of which is unknown, reached the gate of the Mu'izzí, "which resembled a mosque." This occurred in Old Delhi, but the history of the Mu'izzí Gate is unknown. That it was called "Mu'izzí" may probably be due to one of two circumstances, viz. it was either a Hindu gate in the possession of the "Mu'izzí nobles,"* or it was built by them in the Mu'izzí quarter of the city. The gate of "Bhandar Kál" is also unknown, but it probably stood in the neighbourhood of the Red Palace, and the Jam'a Masjid. It is related, that the party of Malik Hamíd-uddín who suppressed Hájí Maulá's rebellion against 'Ala-uddín Khiljí, "opened the Ghazni gate and went into the fort," and after some skirmishing with the rioters in the city, they entered the place at the gate of "Bhandar Kál." This gate must have been built in the wall common to the fort and the city.

The Badáon Gate has quite a history of its own. Ibn Batuta calls it "the principal gate," and it has some claim to that distinction; it was reached by a populous street occupied by the cloth merchants of Old Delhi. In front of the walls of this gate, "holes were made for the incarceration of offenders" against the law prohibiting the use of intoxicating drinks. In front of this gate 'Ala-uddín Khiljí twice raised pyramids of skulls of the Mughals, whom he had routed in the plains of Hauz Ráni, that they might be "a warning and spectacle to future generations."† It was also at the Badáon Gate, that, when he had eschewed the use of wine, 'Ala-uddín destroyed his banqueting cups and jars of

* The nobles of the Court of Sultan Mu'izz-uddín Muhammad, also called Shaháb-uddín Ghorí, are known to Muhammadan historians as the "Mu'izzí nobles."

† "The plain of Hauz Ráni" has been the scene of the most dreadful acts of revenge recorded in a history abounding in royal recrimination. Mughals, rebels and "heretics" were here massacred in cold blood; "either cast under the feet of elephants," "cut in two by the fierce Turks," or "met their death at the hands of the flayers, being skinned from head to foot."—*Tabaqát-i-Nasirí.*

wine, "so that the ground was muddy as in the rainy season." The Badáon Gate was also the scene of contention between rival factions, of deadly contest between foreign enemies and the kings of Delhi; and the grand entrance for the processions of Kings and foreign ambassadors. From the time of the abandonment of Qil'ah Rái Pithora as the capital of the Delhi empire, we trace the decline and eventual disappearance of this historical gate.

Of the other gates we simply have the names. The gate of Hauz Khás is seldom mentioned; the Baghdád Gate occurs oftener in history, but it is best known as the spot where Sultan Ibrahím Lodí put up a brazen bull which he had brought from Gwalior, but its site cannot be identified.

The circuit of Rái Pithora's Qil'ah and his walled city is very nearly five miles. Prince Timúr describes Old Delhi as having ten gates, "some opening to the exterior, and some towards the interior of the city," *i. e.*, of Jahánpanáh. Yazdi, in his *Zafarnámah*, gives eighteen gates to Old Delhi, five of which opened into Jahánpanáh. General Cunningham adopts Timúr's account, but there is no reason for wonder that in the present state of the walls of Pithora's fort we are unable to trace the sites of the ten gates. By following the course of the walls of the city described by me, the reader will discover the ruins of ten gates, though in the case of the gaps on the north-eastern wall, or in that portion of it that was common to Old Delhi and Jahánpanáh, the discovery is a matter of difficulty.

In the year 1191 A. D. Rái Pithora's capital submitted to the Muhammadans, and on the banks of the Ghaggar fell the gallant Chohán Prince, with the whole of his chivalry; Qutb-uddín Aibek was the first Muhammadan King of Delhi who made it "his residence and capital," and the Fort of Rái Pithora continued the place of enthronement of the Kings of Delhi and the capital of the Delhi empire till the foundation of Koshak Lál in Kílokherí by Jalál-uddín Fíroz Sháh Khiljí, when the city of Pithora was called Puráná Delhi, and the city of Jalal-uddín was known as Naiá Shahr.

Within this circuit of five miles will be found some of the most remarkable memorials of Delhi;* here stands the

* "Old Delhi, properly so called, is the old city built by the idolators."—*Ibn Batuta.*

Iron Pillar which still vexes the minds of our antiquarians; here also stood the temples of Hindu Kings which were destroyed by the Muhammadans to furnish the materials for their Mosque; here also was the capital of the early Muhammadan Kings of Delhi, and the renowned palace of Qutb-uddín Aibek, where six of his successors were enthroned. To this locality also belongs the famous Qutb Minár, which bears testimony to the ambition of Muhammadan warriors, and the skill of Hindu workmen. The memories of great atrocities, of great treachery; of kings imprisoned, deposed and assassinated; of ministers murdered in open court; of massacres, pillage, and fire, are associated with the name of Old Delhi.

Kasr Safed.—In the year 1205 A. D. about sixteen years after the death of Rái Pithora, Qutb-uddín Aibek built a palace in this fort, which is known to history as *Kasr Safed.** Nothing now remains of this once famous royal residence, not even a guess can safely be made as to its probable site Malik Bakhtiyár Khiljí, a lieutenant of Shaháb-uddín Ghorí and the conqueror of Bengal, fought an elephant in the grounds of this palace; within its walls were enthroned the greatest of the Slave kings, Sultan Shams-uddín Altamsh, his grandson Násr-uddín Mahmúd Sháh, the illustrious Balban and others more or less known to fame. Jalál-uddín Fíroz Shah Khijlí, who occupied the city of Kilokheri after the assassination of its founder, Kai-Qubád, was brought to the Kasr Safed to be enthroned "according to the time-honoured custom of his predecessors" and his example was followed by his nephew and successor 'Ala-uddín Khiljí. According to Ferishta, Násr-uddín Mahmúd Sháh received (1259 A. D.) the ambassador of Haláku Khán in the palace of Aibek with great pomp and ceremony. Muhammad Sháh Tughlaq ascended the throne of Delhi at Tughluqábád, but forty days later he was re-enthroned at the Kasr-Safed and "sat on the throne of the old Sultans." The palace, however, was not altogether devoted to such pageants as enthronements and the reception of foreign ambassadors; it was occasionally used as a prison, and

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* Ibn Batuta's *White Palace*, and I believe it is the "Mú'izzí Palace" of Zíáuddín Barní. According to Batuta, the palace stood "close to the chief mosque."

not unfrequently it was the scene of bloodshed: Malik Ikhtiyár-uddín, the Wazír of Mu'izz-uddín Bahrám Sháh, was murdered by "two inebriated Turks" at the instigation of the king, in front of the royal seat in the audience hall of Kasr Safed (1241 A. D.) When the empire was in danger, the king convened public meetings here and sermons were preached in this place to excite the populace to take arms against the enemy.* The successor of Bahrám Sháh was taken from his prison in this palace, and was enthroned at Kúshak Fírozí by the title of Sultan 'Ala-uddín Mas'aúd Shah.

Kasr Safed lost its importance as a royal residence when the Court was removed to Naiá Shahr.

Kushak Firozi was evidently built by Shams-uddín Altamsh; it is described as the "chief royal palace," and the residence of Begam Raziyah's mother, the wife of Altamsh.* As already stated, Sultan 'Ala-uddín Mas'aúd Sháh was brought here from Kasr Safed and enthroned as the successor of Mu'izz-uddín Bahrám Sháh (1239 A. D.), and within its walls Sultan Nasr-uddín Mahmúd Sháh, the successor of 'Ala-uddín, held his first court The situation of this palace is not known; Mr. Beglar's excavation at the back of the Masjid Kuvvat-ul-islám yielded several baskets full of green enamelled tiles with Arabic inscription and ornaments, and he identifies these ruins with those of Kúshak Sabz, of which we shall speak immediately, but as General Cunningham describes the tiles as "unmistakeably blue, although they have a greenish tinge," it is not at all unlikely that the ruins belong to the Kúshak Fírozí or the Turquoise Palace.

Kushak Sabz.—The Kúshak Sabz or Green Palace was probably built not long after the Fírozí Palace. The first mention made of this Palace in history occurs in the reign of Nasr-uddín Mahmúd Sháh, son of Altamsh, who ascended the throne in the Kúshak Sabz, and subsequently received here the ambassador of Haláku, when a street of soldiers, twenty deep, was formed from the village of Kílokherí to the door of the

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* *Tabaqát-i-Násirí.*

palace. Both these occurrences Ferishta places in Kasr Safed (White Palace), but I prefer the more reliable authority of Minháj-us-Siráj, the author of *Tabaqát-i-Nasirí.*

Half a century later, Rukn-uddín Ibrahím, the youngest son of Sultan Jalál-uddin Khiljí, was raised to the throne in the Kushak Sabz, after the assassination of his father by 'Alá-uddín Khiljí, the cousin of Rukn-uddín.

In later times, it was also used as a public place for the reception of Amírs, and when Záfar Khán visited Khán-i-Jahán at Old Delhi, in the reign of Fíroz Sháh Tughlaq, he was entertained and lodged in this palace.

Chabutra Nasira.—Judging from its name, this terrace was built by Sultan Nasr-uddín Mahmúd Sháh.

When Jalál-uddín rose in open rebellion and fortified himself at Bahárpur, near Kilokheri, the infant son of Kai Qubád was declared king of Delhi, and he held his court here for a few months.

When 'Alá-uddín Khiljí returned from the conquest of Arangál, the spoils were displayed "on the terrace of Nasr-uddín," where the chiefs and nobles had assembled, and "the Malik ['Alá-uddín] was duly honored." On that occasion, the nobles also raised, "a black pavilion in the Nasíra, for a durbar."

These are about all the palaces which were erected within the fort of Rái Pithora by the Mu'izzí, or the Slave kings of Delhi. Of the palace of Humáyún, we know nothing beyond the unimportant fact that it was built in the neighbourhood of the Badáon gate. Sometimes it is described as a palace in Jahán-panáh, but as "several palaces were destroyed" in Old Delhi when Timúr sacked the place, it is impossible to say which, if any, of those we have described was spared by the conqueror.*

Masjid Jama or Masjid Kuvvat-ul-islam.—We have no authentic account of the temple of Rái Pithora, which made room for this Masjid, and tradition offers us nothing satisfactory on the subject. We have vague descriptions of the

* Zafarnámah.

grandeur of this temple with its rows of cloisters, three and four deep, surrounded by other buildings both lofty and roomy.

Immediately after the conquest of Delhi by Qutb-uddín Aibek, the favorite lieutenant of Muhammad Ghorí, he commenced building this mosque on the site of Rái Pithora's temple which he had previously demolished. According to Muhammadan historians who are followed by some European authorities, Aibek is said to have pulled down only the western wall of the temple, where he built a mosque, and allowed the rest of the temple to stand as it was. But General Cunningham conclusively establishes the facts that the superstructure of the temple was pulled down, with the exception of a few pillars to which reference shall be made later; that the Masjid stands on the raised terrace or platform of the temple which also marks its site, and that the lower portion of the surrounding walls of this platform was the original undisturbed work of the Hindus. The destruction of the Hindu temples was so complete, that in the reign of Shams-uddín Altamsh, practically the successor of Aibek, "not a vestige of them was to be seen."*

The mosque of Kutb-uddín Aibek, as seen from outside, is a sombre, heavy looking square stone building. The main entrance is an arched gateway in the centre of its eastern wall; seven heavy stone steps, entirely covered by the arch of the gateway, take the visitor into the cloisters of the mosque.† The outer eastern wall of the mosque is 147 feet long and is pierced with four windows.

The eastern gateway has a false horizontal arch recessed on its outer face, the upper part of which is decorated with engraved scrolls and other ornamental designs, and on its lower face is the following important inscription :—

"This mosque was built by Qutb-uddín Aibek. May God's mercy be on him, and on him who prays for a blessing on the faith of the founder of this blessed [edifice].

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* Zafarnámah.

† Mr Beglar's excavations show, that the ground level of these steps and the walls of the Masjid is very different from what it was; that the present steps continue down below it till they terminate at a large stone platform.

"In the name of God, the merciful and benevolent: he who entered it [mosque] has found salvation; for [the favour of] God it is incumbent on all men who have the means [to defray the expenses] of the road, to make a pilgrimage to the House [Kábah.] [For him] who has disbelieved [this command], there is no doubt that God is independent of [all that he has] created.

"This fort was conquered, and this Masjid-i-Jam'a was built on the date, the months of the year 587 [Hijrí], by the Amír of high dignity, great and glorious, the axis of wealth and faith, the Amír of Amírs, the Sultan Aibek. May God give honor to his allies!* He made [use of] twice a thousand times a thousand dìliwals [the property of] the idols of 27 temples* in the construction of this mosque. God, the great and the glorious, have mercy on him, and on him who invokes a blessing on the faith of the builder of this noble edifice."†

The eastern wall of the mosque has a plinth of 4½ feet; two walls about 12 feet long, standing out at right angles to the main wall, contain the steps which lead into the mosque, and act as supports of the arched gateway. The gate itself is about eleven feet wide, but not lofty. On entering the mosque, the visitor finds himself under a small dome; to his right and his left are rows of pillars and in front a court yard—once completely and now more than half enclosed by pillared cloisters—142 long and 108 feet wide. The dome is curiously formed by stones projecting over one another, all fixed by a stone on the top; it springs from an octagon resting on a square supported by pillars in groups of fours; these pillars are thirteen feet high, two and a half feet wide at the base, and one and a half feet in the shaft‡ The outward appearance of the dome is conical.

On the spectator's right, there are four rows of pillars extending to the northern and southern extremities of the

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* Ibn Batuta dates the conquest of Delhi in 584 Hijrí on the authority of this inscription: "I read the same date upon the *Mehráb* of the great mosque of the city," evidently a mistake.

† According to General Cunningham who agrees with Mr. Edward Thomas, these temples must have cost £4000 each, in all £108,000; a diliwal being equal to one fiftieth part of a rupee.

‡ Fergusson, writing on the construction of the cloisters of the mosque by a re-arrangement of the pillars of Rái Pithora's temple, remarks: "It may be necessary to explain that there would be no difficulty in taking down and re-building these erections, because the joints of the pillars are all fitted with the precision that Hindu patience alone could give. Each compartment of the roof is composed of nine stones—four architraves, four angular and one central slab, all so exactly fitted, and so independent of cement, as easily to be taken down and put up again. The same is true of the domes, all which being honestly and fairly fitted, would suffer no damage from the process of removal." *History of Architecture.* Vol. II., p. 638.

wall; on the two extremities are galleries; the first row consisting of seven pillars stands right against the wall; the second row is about six feet from the first and consists of six pillars; the third row is at the same distance from the second and also consists of six pillars, while the fourth stands on the court yard, about five feet from the third and consists of seven pillars. These pillars and the pillars on the left of the dome, are most elaborately ornamented; some of the capitals are embellished with human figures which spring at the waist from the pillar, and are covered with bracelets, armlets and chains. The shafts are tastefully decorated with cable and link chains which either terminate in bell or tassel-rosettes; chaplets and garlands are also profusely used in ornamenting the shafts and the bands of the pillars. On each corner of the eastern cloister, there is a gallery about 20 feet square, under domes similar in form and construction to the dome on the eastern gateway; steps in the wall of the mosque lead to the galleries. The dome of the gallery springs from an octagon, which rests on a square supported by eight pillars, four corner and four middle pillars; there is a ninth pillar in the south-eastern gallery which is used as a prop. The dome is in the centre of the gallery, and round the pillars which support it there is an open space six feet wide. The eastern and southern sides of this gallery are formed by the eastern and southern walls of the mosque, pierced with narrow windows; the remaining sides are formed by small pillars about half the size of the cloister pillars; the floor of the gallery rests on similar pillars on the ground floor. These pillars are more or less ornamented. A peculiarity worth remarking here, and which proves beyond all doubt that the superstructure of the Hindu temple was demolished, is the presence in these galleries of capitals projecting from the side walls without any supporting pillars. In the north-eastern gallery, there are quite as many as six such capitals; there are also in some of the roofing slabs of these galleries representations of Buddhas which would never have been tolerated in a temple dedicated to Vishnu. This description of the south-eastern gallery would apply to the gallery on the north-eastern corner.

Starting from the north-eastern corner of this cloister, we enter the northern cloister, which also forms the northern

boundary of the courtyard. In this cloister there are only three rows of pillars instead of four, nor are the pillars in the same state of preservation as those in the eastern cloister. The colonnade consists of forty-nine pillars, seventeen of which are built against the wall—which I shall call the first row—the second row consists of seventeen pillars and is about seven feet from the first, while the third, which stands on the court yard, consists of fifteen pillars, and is about eight feet from the second. In the middle of the northern cloister there is a conical dome, smaller than the domes on the eastern gateway and the galleries already described. In front of this dome is the north gate of the mosque, and on either side of it the wall is pierced with three large windows; the gate is reached by two stone steps. In some respects the northern gate way is similar to that on the east; its arch however has suffered more from the effects of time and on the recessed surface of its face is the following inscription :—

"In the name of God, the merciful and the benevolent. God invites [you] to heaven; he directs whomever he pleases on the firm path [of faith]. In the months of the year [5] 92 Hijrí, this building was commenced by the high command of the great king, great in the world and in faith, Muhammad Bin Sám, ally of the Amír-ul-Momenín."*

As I have already remarked, neither the northern wall nor the northern cloister is complete; there is a gap of about thirty feet in the north-western end of this wall, and the ruins of the north-western gallery, in the north-western corner of the cloister, are still in existence.

The southern cloister, which is also the southern boundary of the court of the mosque, is even less complete; on its south-eastern end there is about sixty feet of wall, with a colonnade of fifteen pillars still standing. These pillars have neither the finish nor the ornaments of those in the other two cloisters.† Of the fifteen pillars, six stand against the wall; a second row of five pillars stand

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* Title of the Khalífahs of Baghdád.

† This colonnade and its back wall were, "with a strange want of discrimination, reconstructed" by Major R. Smith, the then Executive Engineer of Delhi, who used the pillars of Altamsh's "extension," in front of the eastern gate of the Mosque, for the purpose. Mr. Campbell, late Executive Engineer of Delhi, remarks, that even the windows of Qutb-uddín's work did not escape "re-arrangement at the same time."

about eight feet from the first, and about the same distance from the second are the four pillars of the third row. The south-western gallery and the domes of this cloister have disappeared altogether.

In the middle of the southern side of the mosque, and at about the end of what now remains of its walls, is the southern gate of the mosque, corresponding to the gate on the northern side; seven stone steps lead into the court-yard on this side. The windows on the south-eastern side of the gate are in existence, those on the south-western side have disappeared with the wall.*

I believe there was another gate in the western extremity of this wall; five broken steps still mark its site.

On the west of the court-yard are five lofty arches, but I shall speak of them in the order of time in which they were built; behind these arches was "the hall of worship"—the mosque of Qutb-uddín Aibek. This hall was built in the fashion of the other cloisters; it had a dome in the centre, corresponding to the dome on the eastern gateway, but there was no entrance to the mosque through its back wall, which contained the three high arched niches which constituted the mosque.† The hall of the mosque was 147 feet long and 40 feet wide, and its roof was supported on five rows of the tallest and finest of the Hindu pillars.

The mosque is now a complete ruin. Partly behind the northern pier of the middle arch of Qutb-uddín Aibek's magnificent arches, just referred to, and partly behind its southern pier, stand the only pillars left of the mosque. Of the first group there are twelve pillars in four rows; the capitals and shafts of these pillars are gorgeously ornamented—there is only one pillar here that has a clean square shaft—some of them still support projecting half-broken stone beams, evidently the remains of roofs now no more, but portions of the roofing are still seen in two

* Mr. Beglar's excavations under the southern gate of the mosque disclosed the bases of pillars resting on a platform at the same level as the platform discovered under the steps of the eastern gate.

† Nawab Ziauddín of Loharú mentions five arches. I have been able to trace only three.

places. The second group of pillars stands behind the second pier of the central arch, in four rows; they are ten in number; almost in the same state of preservation as the pillars behind the northern pier. According to General Cunningham, these pillars were not disturbed when Aibek built his mosque, and it is necessary to notice here a fact, to which reference will be made hereafter, that on one of these pillars occurs the following important inscription: "In the time of Fazl Ibn Abúl Ma'áli Muta walí."

About a third of the western wall of the mosque towards the north is still visible; that towards the south is gone. In the centre of this wall were the arched niches the remains of two of which may yet be seen; the base of the centre niche, which is also the centre of the wall, is still above the level of the ground, the rest has fallen down; the niche to its north is still entire, but that to the south no longer exists. About half of the northern wall is still above the ground; it is a continuation of the wall of the northern cloister, but it does not meet the western wall; of the southern wall nothing is visible. About thirty feet from the mosque stands the Iron Pillar—probably as it stood when the Mosque was built. There are four graves in the court-yard of the mosque, with high masonry plinths and the usual bier-like masonry sarcophagus. The mosque, as it will be seen, was approached through a cloistered court.*

The description of the Masjid Kuvvat-ul-islám as it existed in 592 Hijrí is now complete; those magnificent arches, so out of place where they stand, were built later.

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* Describing the mosque as it stood in the time of Aibek—Fergusson remarks: "It is so purely Jaina, that it should have been mentioned in speaking of that style. . . . The pillars are of the same order as those used on Mount Abú, except that those at Delhi are much richer and more elaborate. They belong probably to the 11th or 12th century, and are among the few specimens to be found in India that seem to be over-loaded with ornament—there not being one inch of plain surface from the capital to the base." *History of Architecture.* Vol. II. p. 648. Further on, the same authority observes; "The history of this mosque, as told in its construction, is as curious as any thing about it. It seems that the Afghan conquerors had a tolerably distinct idea that pointe[illegible]ches were the true form for architectura openings; but being without scien[illegible]fficient to construct them, they left the Hindu architects and builders whom they employed to follow their own devices as to the mode of carrying out the form. The Hindus had up to this time never built arches—nor did they for centuries afterwards. Accordingly, they proceeded to make the pointed opening on the same principle upon which they built their domes. They carried them up in horizontal courses as far as they could, and then closed them by long slabs meeting at the top."—*History of Architecture.* Vol. II., p. 650.

The floor of the court-yard is higher than that of the cloisters; as regards the level of the floor of the mosque, there appears to be a fall of about eight inches per hundred feet, from the western wall—which is its highest position—to the eastern wall—which is its lowest—thus making a total of about seventeen inches from end to end.

When Qutb-uddín Aibek returned from Ghazní, which he had visited at the request of his Sovereign, Muhammad Ghorí, he built the superb arches which stand in front of the mosque.* The wall of these arches is eight feet deep, and may be divided into three parts: a lofty centre wall and a smaller wall on either side of it. The wall of the centre arch is about 53 feet high and 31 feet wide, and when all the smaller arches were in existence, each of the wing walls was about 25 feet high and 35 feet wide. This wall was pierced by a line of five arches "without the least trace of any intention to construct a vault or roof of any sort. Indeed, a roof is by no means an essential part of a mosque; a wall facing Mecca is all that is required, and in India is frequently all that is built, though an enclosure is often added in front to protect the worshippers from interruption."† The arches are built with red and yellow sand stone, the latter colour predominating; they are slightly ogee in shape The centre arch is 43 feet high, and 22 feet wide; of the four side arches only three are now standing; viz., two on the north and one on the south of the centre arch; they are about 24 feet high, those immediately on either side of the centre arch are 11½ feet, and the off ones are 10 feet wide. The piers of the centre arch are 9½ feet square; of those immediately on its right and left are 8 feet square, and of the further ones are oblongs of 8 feet by 5.

These arches have no niches in their piers, the supports are left uncut; there are no imposts‡ and the engraved ornamentations are extremely pretty. The first band consists of verses from the Qurán, and is of the shape of the arch, the rest are square bands which run over the three

* Fergusson calls these arches "the glory of the mosque."—*History of Architecture.* Vol. II., p. 649.

† *History of Architecture.* Vol. II., p. 649.

‡ "The impost to the centremost [arch] is an addition of Captain Wickhams. It should be removed."—Campbell's "*Notes.*"

sides of the walls and are covered with scrolls of fancy designs, and precepts from the Qurán. The spandrels are covered with elaborately engraved ornaments. These arches were finished in the year 594 Hijrí, and on the left pier of the centre arch, about 8 feet from the ground, the date is given, as the "20th Zikád, the year 594," (1197 A. D.) It was the last work of Qutub-uddín in connection with this mosque.

Besides the ornaments on the arches and the pillars, the walls of the mosque were covered with flowers and precepts from the Qurán, to conceal Hindu decorations. "When the mosque was completed," writes Amír Khusrau, "flowers and extracts from the Qurán had been either engraved on stone or written in plaster." The plaster has disappeared and the objectionable figures which the crescentaders did so much to conceal are once more exposed to the light of the day ; it is only on well-sheltered spots that it is possible for us to discover the plaster which once concealed these beautiful sculptures.

There are several narrow slabs of stones in the walls and the roof of the mosque which represent scenes in the life of the infant Krishna, and the Council of gods. The best preserved of these memorials are the two noticed by General Cunningham, and which refer to the former of the two subjects : that on the northern outer wall of the mosque represents two rooms with a half opened door between them. In each room there is a female lying on a couch with a child by her side, a canopy over her head and an attendant at her feet ; in the left hand room two females are seen carrying children towards the door. In the right hand room two other females are carrying children towards the principal figure in the room. On the stone in the north-eastern angle of the corridor, and close to one of the windows in the north-eastern gallery, there are six figures : Vishnu, Indra, Brahma, Siva and two others which have not been recognised. There are several figures of seated Buddha in the two galleries, some of them in very good condition.

General Cunningham reckons the decorated pillars in the cloisters around the Iron Pillar at 340, but when the cloisters were complete there must have been 450 such pillars ; of the plainer pillars, General Cunningham counted 376, and

believes that to complete the cloisters the builders must have required 1200 more.*

The following instructive and elaborate description of the pillars is taken from General Cunningham's *Archæological Reports :*

" A curious confirmation of the average size of those temples has been afforded by a discovery which I first made in 1853, and which I completed during the present year 1863 In the south-east corner of the cloisters of the Great Mosque, the pillars, with bases and capitals complete, are nearly all of one style and size, and quite different from the other columns. Now, the bases, shafts and capitals of these pillars are *numbered*, the highest number discovered being 19. I found 15 numbered shafts, of which No. 13 is in the north cloister, far away from its fellows. I found also 13 numbered bases and 7 numbered capitals ; but only in one instance, that of No. 10, do the numbers of base, shaft and capital, as they now stand, agree. Here, then, we have a direct and convincing proof that these particular pillars have all been re-arranged. The total number of shafts discovered was only 15 but they were all numbered. Of the bases I discovered 19 of which 4 were square and 15 had the angles recessed like all the shafts. Of the capitals, all of one uniform pattern, I found 20, of which one was inscribed with the No. 19. From all these facts, I conclude with a probability amounting almost to certainty, that the temple from which these pillars were obtained consisted of 20 columns only. On No. 12 shaft there is the word *kachal* in Nagari letters on one face, with the date of 1124 on another face, which, referred to Vikramáditya *Samvat*, is equivalent to A. D. 1067, at which time Anang Pál II, the founder of Lálkot, was reigning in Dilli.

But the mason's marks on the stones of this temple were not confined to the pillars, as I discovered them on no less than 13 different portions of its entablature. These marks are more than usually detailed but unfortunately, in spite of their length and apparent clearness, I am still unable to make them out completely.

The marks are the following :

A.	*Chapa Vida*	3.	Upper *vida*	(?) No. 3.
B.	" "	4.	"	(?) No. 4.
C.	*Púchuki*	4.	Rear	(?) No. 4.

* The following are the distinguishing features of Qutb-uddín Aibek's work : the domes, the flat roofs, the lintels, and the pillars in the cloisters are made of red and yellowish sandstone, the pillars differ in height and thickness, in the number of parts of which they are composed, and in their ornamentations. The order in which the pillars are arranged, also indicate the working up into a new design of the remains of older buildings. See Campbell's " *Notes.*"

D.	*Púchuki*	5. Pachhim	Rear (?) No. 5 west.
E.	*Vi Chaothe*		*Vida (?) fourth.*
F.	*Vi panchama*		*Vida (?) fifth.*
G.	*Prathama Dáshen*		First Architrave.
H.	*Pachchhim Raki Dáshen*		West side
K.	*Purab Prathama*		East first.
L.	*Purab* 3		East No. 3.
M.	*Pachchhim Ra* 3, *A—(ge ?)*		West side No. 3, front (?)
N.	„ *Raki pachchhe*		„ „ back.
O.	„ *Raki* 6 „		„ „ No. 6 back.

There is a peculiarity about the numbers of the pillars which is worthy of note. Each cypher is preceded by the initial letter of the word for that number. Thus 3 is preceded by *ti* for *tin*, 10 by *da* for *das*, and 16 by *so* for *solah*. The same style of marking would appear to have been used for a second temple, as I found a pillar of another pattern with the number *du* 2, and a pilaster of the same kind with *i* 19. Sixteen bases of the first pillar have recessed angles, and four are plain squares. In this case the temple would have had 4 pillars (probably an outer row) of one pattern, and 16 of another kind, but all of the same height.

The dimensions of these inscribed pillars are as follows:—

		ft.	in.	ft.	in.
Capital	Upper member, with brackets...	0	10		
	Lower ditto ...	0	6		
				1	4
Shaft—	... ...			4	11½
Base ...	Upper portion ornamented ...	1	2½		
	Lower „ plain ...	0	9		
				1	11½
	Total height...			8	3* "

The Extensions of Altamsh consist of an addition of two wings to the arches of Qutb-uddín Aibek, and new cloistered courts on the eastern, northern and southern sides of the mosque. Altamsh extended the western wall of the mosque about 115 feet on either side, thus making the whole length of the wall about 380 feet; of this extension very little now remains. On the north-western angle

* *Archæological Reports*, Vol I., p. 178.

of Qutb-uddín's mosque, about fifty feet of Altamsh's wall is still standing, and about twenty feet more is in ruin; the rest of the walls on this side can only be traced by its foundation under ground. The northern cloister was about 280 feet long, and may now be traced under the level of the ground with great difficulty. The southern wall, also about 280 feet long, is, with a short gap, in a fair state of preservation. At the south-western corner of the Altamsh extension of the mosque there is a gap of about 70 feet, but here the foundation of the wall may be easily traced. At the end of this gap, the back wall of the court-yard is in ruin for about thirty feet, but a colonnade of three rows of pillars which terminates at a gate, corresponding to the southern gate of the mosque, is still in existence. The arch of this gate is down, but the jambs are still standing and the pillars are sixteen feet high; there are five double pillars on the line where the wall once stood, and this I call the first row; the second row of seven pillars, stands about six feet from the first, and a third row of seven pillars stands at the same distance from the second. Groups of four pillars support a flat roof formed with over-lapping stones. From the gate, where the colonnade was interrupted, there is a wall about 100 feet long, extending to the gate-way of 'Ala-uddín Khiljí, but for about twenty feet of the wall the pillars have disappeared. The height of the pillars, their distances from one another, and the construction of the roofing are similar to those of the colonnade already described; the pillars stand as before, in three rows; there are fourteen pillars against the wall, sixteen in the second row, and fifteen in the third. There are seven lofty windows in this wall, the first five of which are roughly finished and without any screen; the remaining two are larger in size, and covered with red stone screens of lattice work like the windows of the 'Alaí gateway. Within ten feet of the pillars in front of the last of the smaller windows, stands the magnificent Minár of Qutb-uddín Aibek. It is generally believed that the extension of Altamsh did not go beyond the Minár and that the two larger windows in the wall are the work of 'Ala-uddín Khiljí. I am, however, of opinion that although there is hardly any doubt that these windows were built by 'Ala-uddín, that the square of Altamsh's extension is completed by carrying the line of the southern wall to the 'Alaí gate. It is not unlikely that 'Ala-uddín built his

windows after pulling down a portion of the southern colonnade of Altamsh.

Leaving the 'Alaí Gate to our right, and turning due north, we walk over the buried ruins of Altamsh's eastern cloisters, till we arrive at the Eastern Gate of the mosque of Aibek which is at a distance of fully 200 feet from the 'Alaí Gate. About thirty feet from the Eastern Gate are the only remains of the eastern colonnade of Altamsh. This colonnade consits of 34 pillars of which 19 are standing, and 15 are down ; the pillars stand in four rows : the first, which consists of nine pillars, stands on the road between the mosque and the colonnade ; there are eleven pillars in the second row, eleven in the third, and only three in the fourth. The pillars are about six feet apart ; and the roof, where it does exist, is in every respect like the roof of the southern colonnade. Beyond this colonnade there is nothing to mark the line of Altamsh's eastern cloister.*

Altamsh, as has been already remarked, not only added cloistered courts to the mosque, but also extended the arches of Qutb-uddín Aibek. The new arches, though loftier than those of Aibek, stand on a lower level ; their piers have arched niches, and the jambs are cut into octagons and ballusters ; the arch springs from one of these latter, which does duty as impost and is pointed in the head, while the ornament is later in date and more elaborate. Between Qutb-uddín's arches and those of Altamsh, there is a passage about eight feet wide. Altamsh built three arches on either side of those of Aibek's. The first arch of the extension on the north is still in existence, the top ornaments are gone but the arch is entire, and is about 26 feet high and 13 feet wide ; the southern pier of this arch is about 6 feet deep and 4 feet broad ; its northern pier, which is the southern pier of the centre arch, is about 15½ feet wide ; the centre arch is 24½ feet wide, but only two lofty piers do work for what must have been a magnificent archway ; the third arch on this line of extension is gone.

The southern extension of Qutb-uddín's arches is also in ruin ; the near small arch as well as the centre arch, are only

* After a careful examination of these pillars, I am of Mr. Campbell's opinion that they are standing *in situ*.

indicated by their piers; the extreme southern arch retains its original appearance, but the arch is formed by a thin slab of sand stone which threatens to come down; and it seems almost a wonder that the fate which has overtaken the other two arches has spared the third so long.*

The extensions of 'Ala-uddin Khilji.—In the year 695 A.H. (1295 A. D.), Sultan 'Ala-uddín Khiljí ascended the throne of Delhi, after the murder of his uncle Jalal-uddín Fírozsháh, the founder of the Khiljí dynasty. He then projected a further extension of the Masjid by adding to it, what Amír Khusrau calls, "the fourth part." Of this addition, magnificent alike in its extent as in its finish, very little remains, but that little justifies the praise lavished on it by the courtly poet, Khusrau. The few pillars that still stand in the south eastern wall of this extension will not appear remarkable to those who have been previously accustomed to the cloisters of Aibek and Altamsh, but the magnificent gateway of 'Ala-uddín would have perpetuated his memory as *the great royal builder* even if he had not added another stone to the mosque.

To complete 'Ala-uddín's extension, we have, instead of turning to the north from the south-eastern extremity of Altamsh's eastern colonnade, to proceed due south and at right angles to its eastern wall. The line of the pillars of Altamsh is slightly different from that of the pillars of 'Ala-uddín, and the pillars themselves are of different pattern. We now pass the famous 'Alaí Gate, but the pillars which formed a colonnade in front of its inner door have disappeared; for about 30 feet the ground here is perfectly clear; at the eastern end of this gap, the colonnade again begins and extends for about 120 feet from the 'Alaí Gate to the end of the second "extension of the cloistered courts of the Mosque." The wall of this colonnade is pierced by four doors and three lofty windows, the latter covered with red sandstone screens of lattice work. Twelve pillars stand against the wall of the covered colonnade, fifteen in the second and

* Having finished my description of Altamsh's addition to the Quvvat-ul-islám, I have a few remarks to offer on the peculiarities of his work, for which I am indebted to Mr. Campbell's "*Note:*"—the pillars of the colonnades are of sand stone, they are of different heights, no order is observed in the distances between them; and these vary as they do in the cloisters of Aibek. The pillars, like those of the mosque, belonged to older buildings, but they were evidently not drawn from the same source. The ornament of the arches are richer in design and more elaborate in execution than those of Aibek's.

eleven in the third row; the distances of these pillars from one another and the roof they support, are similar to those in the southern colonnade of Altamsh. Having reached the south-eastern corner of 'Ala-uddín's extension, we turn due north to trace its eastern side; here we follow the colonnade for about 20 feet, and then lose it altogether whence it can only be seen as detached mounds of ruin. The eastern colonnade, or rather so much of it as is still extant, consists of only eleven pillars; four standing against the wall, four in the second row and three in the third, with a door in the southern corner of the twenty feet wall. Recent excavations leave no doubt in my mind that 'Ala-uddín's additions to the mosque extended much beyond the northern extension of Altamsh; that he included his unfinished Minar in this addition, and enclosed the mosque in a cloistered court 700 feet long and 400 feet wide. He nearly doubled the length of the mosque after Altamsh's extensions, and added about half as much ground to its breadth.

The mosque of Qutb-uddín was an oblong with the long sides on the north and south; Altamsh's additions made the mosque an oblong with its long sides on the east and west, a plan which was not altered by 'Ala-uddín.

Amír Khusrau's description of 'Ala-uddín's additions to the Mosque is rather difficult to follow: "His majesty" says Khusrau "added a fourth part to the Masjid, which was built beyond the three old gates and courts, with lofty pillars, and upon the surface of the stones he engraved verses of the Kurán in such a manner as could not be done even on wax; ascending so high that you would think the Kurán was going up to heaven and again descending, in another line, so low that you would think it was coming down from heaven;" he goes on to add that the "whole work was completed from top to bottom." Of those lofty pillars nothing remains above ground. Mr. Thomas believes that these are the existing arches of the mosque, but General Cunningham successfully maintains that the latter belong to the time of Qutb-uddín and Altamsh, and although in my opinion General Cunningham is hardly justified in his remark that Amír Khusrau must have referred to the engraved lines of Tughra on the 'Alaí Gate "which ascend and descend in the same way as those on the great arches of the mosque," I believe that 'Ala-uddín's "eight arches"

stood on the north of Altamsh's northern colonnade. Mr. Beglar's excavations on that side of the mosque have exposed the remains of walls of great thickness, which were a prolongation of the western wall of Altamsh's addition; these walls are completely hidden by the jungle, although in some places they stand fully ten feet above the present ground level. The foundation of six arch-ways have been discovered in this wall, and, for aught we know to the contrary, there might have been eight arches in the wall, and the ruins appear to me to belong to the arches to which Amír Khusrau refers in his discription. I must also notice here that a line, drawn from the unfinished Minár of 'Ala-uddín, would divide the line of 'Ala-uddin's arches as described by me into two equal parts.*

The 'Alai Darwaza, or the Gate of 'Ala-uddin Khilji.—This superb domed gateway was built by 'Ala-uddín Khiljí, and is declared by General Cunningham to be "the most beautiful specimen of Pathan architecture that I have seen," while Fergusson remarks, that it "displays the Pathan style at its period of greatest perfection when the Hindu masons had learned to fit their exquisite style of decoration to the forms of their foreign masters." This gateway is in the south cloister of 'Ala-uddín's extension, a little beyond the line of that of Altamsh's, and was probably the city gate of the mosque. The date of the building is given on the eastern, western, and southern doors of the gateway: "On the 15th day of Shavvál, 710," (A.D. 1310.) The building is a square of 34½ feet inside and 56½ feet outside, the walls being 11 feet thick; from the inner floor to the domed ceiling, it is about 47 feet high. The mode in which

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* Mr. Campbell, to whom I have already so often referred, thus distinguishes the work of Altmash from that of 'Ala-uddín: in the former the stone is discoloured by age, and a plain course runs along the outer wall just below the springing wall of the window arches; in the latter the stone has a fresh look about it, and the spring course is omitted. The windows in the former are covered with lintels resting on corbels, a false horizontal arch being recessed on the centre face; those in the latter, have regular arches with voussoirs running through the whole thickness of the wall.

Whilst Qutb-uddín and Altamsh had to rely for the details of the design and their construction to Hindu workmen, 'Ala-uddín was independent of them, and it was in his reign that the school of Muhammadan architecture acquired more a national type.

the square plan of the building is changed into an octagon which supports the dome, " is more simply elegant and appropriate," says Fergusson "than any other example I am acquainted with in India ;" the corners are ornamented with a series of arched niches which cut off the angles of the square. On each side of the gateway there is a lofty door, but the doors in the eastern and western sides of the building are lower than those in its northern and southern sides. On the southern side the building has a plinth very nearly ten feet high, with seven steps in the centre leading into it. The door ways are most elaborately ornamented ; each door is formed by a pointed horse shoe arch, of which the outer edge is panelled ; the inner edge, which goes a few inches deeper into the arch, is decorated with stone spear heads ; the arch springs from slender ornamented pillars with plain imposts. The outer face of the arch, as well as the inner arch, which is formed after a recess of four inches, and the rectangular bands which enclose the arched doorways, bear inscriptions which in some places have been injured by time.* The whole face of the building is elaborately ornamented with delicate chisselling of which not the least attractive features are the bands of inscription. On each side of the doorway there are two windows, about a third of its size but of the same shape and style ; these windows are covered with marble screens of lattice work ; the off windows are a little smaller than the near ones and their lattice work is closer and finer. Above these windows, the wall is decorated with small ornamental false arches in panels, which from a distance have the appearance of small windows in groups of

* The following is the English translation of the inscriptions on the doors of the gateway :

Of that on the western door :—

When the Almighty, great is his greatness, and exalted is his name, [wished] to revive the observances of Faith and to raise the banners of the Divine Law, [he] elected [for that purpose] the Lord of the world ; so that the foundation of the faith of Muhammad may be strengthened [more and more] every moment, and that every moment the foundation of the law of Ahmad may get [more and more] firm. For the perpetuation of his kingdom and of his government [the king] builds masjids for worship, according to the command of him who alone is the Preserver : verily, he builds God's Masjids, who knows him . . . Abúl Muzaffar Muhammad Sháh Sultan, right arm of the Kheláfat, ally of the Amír-ul-Momenín, may God perpetuate his kingdom to the day of Resurrection, [that he may] exalt the foundation of the Masjids of Islam, and preserve him long, [that he may] spread peace [over the world] ! On the 15th of Shavvál in the year 710 [Hijrí]. The Gre[illegible]Hazrat, and the Lord over Princes ; like into Mustofa [in dignity] ; *(a)* hum[illegible] submitting to the command of God ; the chosen by the mercy of the merciful;

(a) One of the titles of Muhammad.

fours, the two vertical arches of each group, being enclosed in oblong marble bands. The rectangular bands of red sandstone and marble which enclose the arches of the windows, and the small false arches above them, are covered with verses from the Qurán and the Hadís of Muhammad artistically engraved. The spandrel, as usual, is a mass of fret work, wreaths and ornamental bosses in red sand-stone. The upper portion of the southern face of the gateway was repaired by Major Smith, but no attempt was made to restore the stone ornaments. The interior walls of the gateway are profusely decorated with the most perfect specimens of elaborate carvings; the chequered pattern is simply elegant, or as Fergusson calls it, "of unrivalled excellence." The large dome is remarkably plain; Fergusson considers it "by no means

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great in the world and in Faith; the redresser of Islám and the Moslemín; the giver of honor to kings and princes;* firm with the help of the merciful: Abúl Muzaffar Muhammad Sháh Sultán, second Sekander [Alexander the Great]; right arm of the Khelófat, ally of the Amír-ul-Momenín, may God perpetuate his kingdom: the foundation of this auspicious [place] for the Sunnath Jamá'ath was built by him. This Masjid, which is as familiar to the lips of mankind as the Baith-ul-m'amúr [a shrine in heaven] with pure faith [which faith] is according to the command [of God]; he of the exalted Presence; Lord over the kings of the world; great in the world and in Faith; king of land . . . helped with the help of God: Abúl Muzaffar Muhammad Sháh Sultan, the right arm of Khelófat, ally of the Amír-ul-Momenín, may God preserve his kingdom to the day of Faith [Resurrection].

Of that on the Southern doorway:—

By the grace of the unequalled God, and with the help of the giver of this command: verily the foundation of a mosque is laid in piety. Great is his command and his prestige, countless are his justice and peace According to the Hadis of him [Muhammad] who was commanded to, "turn your face to the Masjid of dignity" [the K'abah] Muhammad, the messenger of God, to him be greeting; as it is said by him, "he who builds a mosque for God, God has built a similar house for him in Paradise;" he of the exalted Presence; Lord of the kings of the world; Emperor, like Moses in splendour, like Solomon in dignity; protector of the commands of the law of Muhammad; helper of the observances of the religion of Ahmad; strengthener of the pulpits of place of learning and religion; strengthener of the rules of colleges and places of worship; increaser of the foundation of the customs of Musalmáns; builder of the foundations of the faith of N'omán [Abú Hanífah]; uprooter of the roots of evil doers; the cutter of the branches of the observances of infidels; destroyer of the foundations of places of idolatry; and the exalter of the foundations of the Masjid of Islám; the place of the manifestation . . . . terror of infidels and benefactor of the Faithful: uprooter of evil doers from the face of the earth; conqueror of strong forts; conqueror of cities with strong foundations; confider in the strength of the merciful God: Abúl Muzaffar Muhammad Sháh Sultan, the right arm of Khelófat; revealer of the faith of God; ally of the Amir-ul-Momenín, may God increase the shadow of his dignity on the heads of mankind to the day of Faith [Resurrection]! [he] built this Masjid, the Masjid Jam'a of the Saints, full of the faith of men of piety; the place of assembly of the high [among the] angels, the place of the presence of the souls of the Chief [among the] prophets. On the 15th of Shavvál, the year 710 [Hijrí]. In the auspicious reign of the [illegible]ted

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* 'Ala-udduniá-uddín, suggesting the name of Sultan 'Ala-uddín.

worthy of the substructure," but its interior view is by no means disagreeable, its plainness notwithstanding; from outside, the dome looks rather low. The outer walls of the gateway were crowned with a battlemented parapet; that on the southern wall was removed during Major Smith's repairs.

In 1827 when Major Burt visited the gateway, he described it as in "a state of dilapidation and destruction" and prophesied that "none of it will stand;" two years later it was repaired by Major Smith, as already stated.

Hazrat; king of the Kings of the world; great in the world and in Faith; exalted by a victorious army: Abúl Muzaffar Muhammad Sháh Sultan, right arm of Kheláfat; ally of the Amír-ul-Momenín; may God increase the shadow of his kingdom on the heads of mankind to the day of Faith [Resurrection]! this mosque has this quality, that whoever has entered it, has acquired Salvation . . . this mosque the extent and the height of which are as well known as those of Bait-ul-Mokaddas [or] rather it is a second Bait-ul-m'amúr, the exalted Hazrat, the Lord; the diffuser of grace and the giver of plenty; helped with the help of the King of Benevolence; great in the world and in Faith; the conqueror; Abúl Muzaffar Muhammad Sháh Sultan; the right arm of Khelafat; ally of the Amír-ul-Momenín, may God preserve the shadow of his glory to the day of Faith [Resurrection] was built [by him] with pure faith and good intentions.

On the Eastern doorway:—

The building of this noble house and the foundation of this eminent edifice was in the reign and during the kingship of the Lord of the Kings of the world; [a] king like Darius; king of perfect justice; abounding in benevolence; emperor full of goodness, who has his orders obeyed; exalter of the pulpits of Islám; reviver of the strength of the commandments [of God); builder of pulpits and of masjids for worship; exalter of the foundation of places of worship; founder of the cities for the guide [to Faith]; destroyer of the countries of pride . . . the throne of royalty; expounder of the laws of the Holy War; the elucidator of the arguments of the Ijtehád; administrator of countries . . . Kings; exalter of the foundation of the arches of the pulpits of Islam, destroyer of the foundations of the place of worship of idols; founder of the rules of charity; the destroyer of drinking-houses; King, conqueror of countries; shadow of the mercy of God; helped with the help of God: Abúl Muzaffer Muhammad Sháh Sultan, right arm of Kheláfat; ally of the Amír-ul-Momenín; may God preserve his kingdom [that he may continue] to build Masjids, and help his kingdom [that he may continue to] light up places of worship; and preserve him [in] his kingdom, and his rule to the end of the world, as long as this *surat* is read [in the world]: Pure is the Almighty who [made] his servant travel in one night from the Sacred Masjid [Ka'bah] to the Masjid-ul-aksa [the Temple of Jerusalem]! . . . By the order of the elect of the merciful, the Hazrat; conqueror of the countries of the world; King like Solomon; great in the world and in Faith; redresser of Islam and the Moslemin; giver of honor to Kings and Princes; the collector of the foundations of goodness . . . of the infidels; exalter of the arches and of pulpits, Abúl Muzaffar Muhammad Sháh Sultan, right arm of Kheláfat, ally of the Amír-ul-Momenín. May God preserve his Kingdom to the day of the Assembly [Resurrection]! [he] built this famous Masjid . . . this famous Jum'a Masjid . . . by order of the elect of the merciful the Hazrat; the Sekandar [Alexander the Great] of his reign and of his time; great in the world and in the faith; King of the Kings of the world; companion of the moon . . . Abúl Muzaffar Muhammad Sháh Sultan, right arm of Kheláfat; manifester of mercy and justice, ally of the Amír-ul-Momenín.

Qutb Minar.—The controversy which has for some time been carried on by two parties, one of whom ascribed this magnificent pillar to the Hindus and the other to the Muhammadans, may be said to have been brought to an end, and the better opinion is decidedly in favor of the Muhammadan origin of the Minár. General Cunningham's arguments in favor of this view of the question are unanswerable, but I am unwilling to reiterate them, as the general accord of opinion on the subject leaves no necessity for such a course. I am tempted, however, to quote the remarks of Nawab Zia-uddín of Laháru, in a paper read to the Archæological Society of Delhi about 25 years ago; after adducing historical proofs in support of the Muhammadan origin of the Minár, he concludes: "No stronger proof can be adduced, except the builder were to rise from the dead and attest his own work on oath."

This Minár is a tapering shaft, 234 feet and 1 inch high, with a base diameter of 47 feet and 3 inches, and an upper diameter of 9 feet, divided into five storeys or balconies and decorated with ornamental bands.

The base of the Minár is a polygon of 24 sides, each side measuring 6 six feet 1½ inches, standing on a plinth about 2 feet from the ground, from which to the base of the dismantled cupola of Fíroz Sháh Tughlaq, the Minár is 238 feet and 1 inch high. The basement storey is 94 feet 11 inches high; it is built of fine red sand stone and is a polygon of 24 sides like the base; the faces of which are formed by alternate angular and semicircular flutes, the shaft being decorated with six ornamental bands. General Cunningham happily remarks, that "the history of the Qutb Minar is written in its inscriptions." The lowest band which has been much injured by time and "ignorant restoration," I have carefully examined, but I have not been able to add to the information which Syud Ahmed Khán has furnished on the subject, nor have I been able to verify his reading. According to him the inscription runs as follows:—

"Amir of Amirs, Commander-in-Chief, the glorious, the Chief in the State, Qutb."

The next band contains the name and praises of Mu-

* In repairing the bands containing the inscriptions, much damage has been done to the record; letters have been misplaced or altered; in some places the original letters have been badly imitated, and the sense has been left doubtful.

hammad Bin Sám, better known to history as Muhammad Ghorí :—

The great King; the exalted Emperor; Master of the necks of the people; Lord of the Kings of Arabia and 'Ajm;* sustaining the Kings of the world; great in the world and in faith; the redresser of Islám and the Moselmín; the Crown of Kings and Princes; the spreader of justice and peace in the two worlds; the shadow of God from one corner [of the world] to the other; the shepherd of God's servants; the defender of the countries of God; the helped from the sky; the conqueror of his enemies; great among the conquering powers; great among the people of Light; the firmament of the creed of the Pure; the King of land and water; the refuge of the countries of the Earth, the revealer of the glorious words of God; a second Alexander: Abúl Muzaffar, Muhammad Bin Sám, ally of the Amír-ul-Momenín, may God perpetuate his reign and his kingdom, and exalt his power and his prestige!

The third band contains a verse from the Qurán;

The fourth band contains the following inscription :—

The great King; the exalted Emperor; master of the necks of the people; Lord of the Kings of Arabia and 'Ajm; King of the Kings of the earth; redresser of the world and faith; a glory to Islám and the Moslemín; reviver of justice in the world; great among the conquering powers; the firmament of the creed of the Pure; great among the people of Light; bright star of Sovereignty; spreader of peace and mercy in both the worlds; shadow of God from one corner [of the world] to the other; defender of the countries of God; shepherd of the servants of God; the refuge of the countries of the earth; the revealer of the glorious words of God: Abúl Muzaffar Muhammad Bin Sám; ally of the Amír-ul-Momenín, may God perpetuate his kingdom!

The fifth band contains the ninety-nine Arabic names of the Almighty.

The sixth band contains some verses from the Qurán.

On the entrance doorway of this storey is the following inscription :—

The Prophet, on whom be God's blessing and peace, says; He who builds a mosque for God, God will build for him a similar place in Paradise. This auspicious Minár—of the Hazrat; King of Kings; the sun of the world and of faith; of [those who have received] mercy and forgiveness; may God make his dust sacred; may Paradise be appointed his place of repose—was injured. In the reign of the great, the illustrious, and the exalted Sekaudar Sháh, the son of

* Although generally translated as Persia, the 'Ajm applies to all countries not included in Arabia.

Bahlol Sháh, Sultan, may God perpetuate his reign and his kingdom, and exalt his power and prestige, [and] [also] under the superintendence of Fateh Khán, the son of Masnad Alí, Khevas Khán, Joná, the dome and the breaches of the upper storeys which required repair were repaired, on the new moon of Rabí-ul-saní, 909 [1503 A. D.]

Near the doorway, there is also another inscription to which I shall have hereafter to refer, and which has also evidential importance in reference to the date of this portion of the Minár:

Fazl, son of Abúl Ma'áli, was the Mutawalí of this Minár.*

The top of the basement storey is surmounted by a projecting gallery, encircling the tower, supported by large stone brackets, decorated with honey-comb work, the finish and elaboration of which is not surpassed by any thing of its kind in Delhi.† The balustrade round this gallery is 3½ feet high; like the balustrades of the other four storeys, it is the work of Major Smith; the original balustrades, which were battlements, were removed and the present "flimsy style of garden-house architecture" was substituted in their place. That they are not in keeping with the massive elaboration of the brackets which supports them, will be evident to the most uninitiated eye.

The second storey, which is 50 feet 8½ inches high, is decorated with semi-circular flutes crossed with two bands of inscriptions. The upper band contains verses from the Qurán, and the lower, the following in praise of Altamsh :—

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* This doorway was twice repaired, since the British occupation of Delhi in 1803; the first time in 1829, by Major R. Smith of the Engineers, and again in 1873, when the doorway was renewed, the entrance repaired, the basement floor raised and flagged under the supervision of Mr. J. H. Lyons, the Executive Engineer of Delhi.

General Cunningham justly complains of the alteration made by Major Smith. Instead of adhering to the original design—which by the way, Major Smith purposed doing, as in his remarks on the "Kootub Repairs," he endeavoured "to assimilate the repairs as much as possible with the old work,"—in this instance, at least, he "improved (the doorway) with new mouldings, frieze and repair of the inscription tablet."

† According to General Cunningham, "these decorations seem to be purely Hindu, and just such as may be seen in the honey-comb enrichments of the domes of most of the old Hindu temples." (*Archæological Reports*, 1st Vol. 190). Mr. Campbell, who has written little on Delhi, but whatever he has written is so well worth study, remarks that "the honey-comb work under the balconies of the same structure (the Minár) differs in no perceptible degree from that in the Alhambra at Granada." *Journal of the Asiatic Society of Bengal*, Vol. 35, part I, page 204.

The great King; the exalted Emperor; master of the necks of the people; the pride of the Kings of Arabia and 'Ajm; God's shadow on earth; the sun of the world and of faith; redresser of Islám and the Moslemín; the crown of Kings and Princes; the spreader of justice among mankind; great among the conquering powers; the light of the people of light; the helped from the sky; the conqueror of his enemies; the bright star of the firmament of sovereignty; the spreader of justice and mercy; the refuge of the countries of the earth; the revealer of the glorious words of God: Abúl Muzaffar Altamsh, Sultan, ally of the Amír-ul-Momenín, may God perpetuate his country and his reign, and exalt his authority and his prestige!

On the doorway, with its "arrow battlements,"—a peculiarity which is also noticed in the third storey,—occurs the following inscription:—

The completion of this building was ordered by the helped from the sky; the sun of truth and faith: Altamsh, Sultan, defender of the Faithful.

The top of the second storey is also surmounted, like that of the first, by a gallery which goes round the pillar, with the same offensive three and a half feet high balustrade of Major Smith's construction. The brackets which support the gallery are not so massive as those of the basement storey, but are just as elaborately decorated.

The third storey, which is 40 feet 9½ inches high, is cased in angular fluting, and is ornamented with two bands; the upper band contains a scroll, and the lower the following inscription:—

The great King; the exalted Emperor; master of the necks of the people; chief amongst the Kings of Arabia and 'Ajm; King of the Kings of the earth; the protector of the countries of the world; the helper of God's servants; conqueror of his enemies; the helped from the sky; the crown of Islám and the Moslemín; the redresser of Kings and Princes; protector of the countries of God: shepherd of God's people; the right arm of sovereignty; spreader of mercy and justice; Abúl Muzaffar Altamsh, Sultan, ally of the Amír-ul-Momenín; may God preserve his kingdom and his reign and exalt his power and prestige!

On the door of this storey occurs the following inscription:—

The great King; the exalted Emperor; master of the necks of the people; last of the Kings of Arabia and 'Ajm; the helped from the sky; the conqueror of his enemies; King of God's earth; the protector of God's countries and helper of God's servants; the refuge of God's coun-

tries; the revealer of the glorious words of God; the terror of the conquering powers; the administrator of the faith and of light; bright star of the world and of faith; redresser of Islám and of the Moslemín; God's shadow among mankind; crown of the people and of sovereignty; master of justice and mercy; King of Kings.

On one side of the door, the inscription gives the name of the architect:—

This building was completed during the superintendency of the slave and sinner, Muhammad Amír Koh.*

The top of the third storey is surrounded by a gallery and balustrade like those of the second storey; but the balustrade is only three feet high.

The shaft of the fourth storey, which is 24 feet and 4 inches, is high, round, devoid of flutings and is faced with marble and in some places with red sand stone; it is decorated with four ornamental bands, one of which bears the following inscription:—

The great King; the exalted Emperor; master of the necks of the people; chief among the Kings of Arabia and 'Ajm; King of the Kings of the world; the protector of the countries of the world and the helper of God's servants; the conqueror of his enemies; the helped from the sky; the crown of Islám and of the Moslemín; the redresser of Kings and Princes; protector of the countries of God and shepherd of God's servants; the right arm of sovereignty; spreader of justice and mercy: Abúl Muzaffar Altamsh, ally of the Amírul-Momenín; may God preserve his kingdom and his reign, and increase his authority and his prestige.

The inscription on the door contains an order of Altamsh:—

This building was ordered in the age and the reign of the great King; the exalted Emperor; master of the necks of the people; chief among the rulers of Turkístan, Arabia and 'Ajm; the sun of the world and faith; the glory of Islám and the Moslemín; master of peace and bounty; the heir of the kingdom of Solomon: Abúl Muzaffar Altamsh, Sultan, the ally of the Amír-ul-Momenín.

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* There is also in this storey a short one line Nagri inscription, with the name of "Muhammad Sultan" and the Samwat 1382, corresponding with 1325 A. D. being the first year of the reign of Muhammad Tughlaq Sháh's reign.

The balcony on the top of this storey is slight in structure ; the balustrade is three feet high.

The fifth or the last storey is 22 feet and 4 inches high, the shaft is circular and is decorated with ornamental bands of marble and red stone ; on the top of it there is an iron railing fixed with iron cramp and lead, with brass kerb set on the railing. On the door is the following inscription :—

This Minár was injured by lightning in the months of the year 770. [Hijrí ; 1368 A. D.] Fíroz [Sháh Tughlaq] Sultan, with the grace of the Protector; the elect by the mercy of the Pure, repaired this building with great care. May the Unknown Creator preserve this building from all dangers.*

General Cunningham gives the purport of the two Nagri inscriptions in this storey : the first inscription consists of two lines, and is dated in the Samwat 1425 [A. D. 1368,] in the reign of *Piroj Shah*, or Fíroz Sháh Tughlaq. The second inscription is found on the south jamb of the doorway, cut partly in the white marble and partly in the red sand stone ; this also gives the name of Fíroz Sháh, but the Samvat is 1426. General Cunningham considers this inscription a very important one, but it was not easily read. "I can make out," says he, "the words *Sri Viswa Karma prasade ruchita*, and towards the end I find the title *silpi* or "Architect," applied to the son of *Chahada Deva Pala* named *Nana Salha*, who repaired the Minár." In the middle of this inscription there are five numbers given in figures.

The cupola of Fíroz Sháh which was in existence in 1794, added 12 feet and 10 inches to the height of the Minár. In 1803, it was thrown down by an earthquake, but I have not been able to procure a sketch of the pillar old enough to give me an idea of what the cupola was like. In 1829, the report of the Committee which assembled at Delhi to examine the repairs done to the Qutb Minár preserved the history, so far as it can be known, of the cupola and of the "grotesque ornament," which Major Smith substituted in its place. The cupola is said to have been in the form of a harp.

"I have" says Major Smith, "neither adopted the very extraordinary superstructure which covered the top of the

* The stump of Fíroz Sháh's cupola, about 2 feet high, stands on the fifth storey.

pillar; nor have I followed the plain square top on four stone pillars which some of the oldest inhabitants about the Kootub state it to have been told them, was on it."

Major Smith's additions to the Minár are described by him as its sixth and seventh storeys. The former consisted of a red sand stone dome, supported "by an enriched cornice," on eight stone fluted pillars, each 6½ feet in height, with a 3 feet high red-stone railing and a parapet of spear head blocks of the same material. His seventh storey was less pretentious; it was "a pavilion of sissoo wood, supporting the flag staff;" the carved pillars of the pavilion were 8 feet in length and the flag staff was of "saul wood, 35 feet in length."

In 1848, by the order of Lord Hardinge, the "grotesque ornament" was removed from the top of the Minár and pitched on the small mound where it now stands, bereft of its flag staff.*

The first three storeys are built entirely of red sand stone, though not evenly of the same colour; in the first and the second, the stones are pinkish buff, and in the third, dark-red. The shafts of the upper two stories are incased in marble and red sand stone, although the former is the preponderating material. This distinction is just as remarkable as in the spiral staircase inside it: in the lower stories, the central pillar and the steps round it are made of granite; the steps are carried upon corbels projecting from the walls, the doorways and the openings for light and air have Hindu horizontal arches; in the two uppermost storeys the central pillar, the inner walls and the steps are made of red sand stone, the steps have no corbels, and the arches have voussoirs. That the fourth storey was altered and re-built, or as Mr. Campbell has it, "newly designed," by Fíroz Sháh, is evident from the style of the work, although he used the doorway of Altamsh and retained its inscription.† The

* When doubt was cast on the choice of such a site for the erection of a flag staff, Major Smith, among other things, appealed to the King of Delhi's approbation of his work. "The King has," wrote Major Smith, "after two deliberate visits at the Lat conveyed to me, through the Commandant of the Palace Guards, His Majesty's satisfaction at the work as it stands completed.

† To the readers of Abúlfeda, there can be no doubt as to the correctness of Mr. Campbell's opinion. Abúlfeda, describes the Minár in A. D. 1300, that is to say long before the repairs of Fíroz Sháh, as containing 360 steps. To make up these 360 steps, we must take 21 steps from the fifth storey; this addition must belong to the fourth storey of the Minár as it stood in the time of Altamsh.

difference between the three lower and the two upper storeys of the Minár is so marked, as to preclude the possibility of their being the work of the same builder or of the same age.

The spiral staircase consists of 379 steps, 3 of which belong to Major Smith's pavilion. It is amusing, however, to notice the discrepancies which exist in the reckonings of these steps by some remarkably intelligent men, who visited the Minár and must have examined the place with care: Thorn makes out 345 steps; Franklin, 308; Von Orlich, 383; Syud Ahmed Khán 388; while visitors of less note are not more precise.

The Minár was never more than five storeys high; in 1300 A.D., the work of Altamsh had been completed, and the Minár is said to have had then 360 steps; this number would carry us into the 21st step of the fifth storey. Sixty-eight years later, 1368 A. D., when the Minár was struck by lightning and repaired by Fíroz Sháh, he appears to have re-built both the fourth and the fifth storeys, although in the case of the former he retained the doorway and inscription of the older shaft, and, as stated by the King himself, he "raised it higher" by surmounting it with a cupola. Syud Ahmed Khán does not give his authority for calling the Minár "Haft Manzarí, —seven storeyed—it never was, in my opinion, more than five storey high, although Fíroz Sháh added to the height of the pillar.

As regards the founders of the Minár, there cannot now be any difference of opinion. I have very good reason to believe that Qutb-uddín Aibek was the founder of the basement storey: firstly, the inscriptions on it undeniably contain the name of his suzerain, Muhammad Ghorí; according to Syud Ahmed Khán, they also contain the name of Qutb-uddín himself, and lastly, they record the important fact that Fazl, son of Abul Ma'áli, was the *Mutawalí* of the Minar; we have already seen, that he was also the *Mutawalí* of the Quvval-ut-Islám mosque in the reign of Qutb-uddín. Mr. Campbell remarks that the position of the Minár as the Máznah of Qutb-uddín's mosque is not out of place.*

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* Abúlfeda, in his *Tárikh Mukhtasar*, calls it "the Máznah of the Juma [Masjid] of Delhi." [A Máznah is a minaret or a tower on or near a mosque whence the crier summons the faithful to prayer.]

I attach no importance to the fact that Abúlfeda, Shams-i-Siráj and Amír Khusrau ascribe this pillar to Altamsh; it was not an unusual practice in this country, certainly not unusual at Delhi, to name a building after one who had repaired, altered or added to it, but in the case of the Qutb Minár, a popular and erroneous description of its founder cannot be allowed to over-ride the evidential force of the contemporary records which the column itself bears.* The inscription of Altamsh on the door of the second storey, ordering the *completion* of the building, is also a proof that he did not commence it. On the other hand, the inscription on the door of the fourth storey—which contradicts the earlier inscription on the door of the second storey—makes out Altamsh to be the founder of the Minár, and so does the most recent inscription of all, that of Sekandar Lodí, on the door of the basement storey. As regards the first of these inscriptions—that on the doorway of the third storey—there can be no better solution of the discrepancy between that and the inscription on the second doorway than that suggested by General Cunningham—that the former referred only to the fourth storey and not to the whole column; as regards the Lodí inscription, I think the mistake is due to the error of the earlier inscription, which it repeats. I am, therefore, satisfied with the evidence which allots the basement storey of the Minár to Qutb-uddín Aibek, and the rest of it to Shams-uddín Altamsh not forgetting the alteration made by Fíroz Sháh. The date of the commencement and completion of the building of the Minár as it stands at present, may be said to extend over a space of 21 years: from A. D. 1200 to A. D. 1220.†

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* Fíroz Sháh calls it "the Minár of Sultan Mu'iz-uddín Sám" in *Futúhát-i-Fíroz Sháhi*, and Ibn Batuta states that "the Minár was built by Muiz-zuddín Kai Qubád."

† I entirely dissent from General Cunningham's opinion in favor of 'Ala-uddín Khiljí, whom he calls "a new claimant." He quotes the following from the *Tárikh-i-'Alaí* of Amir Khusrau: he ('Ala-uddín) also "directed that a new casing and cupola should be added to the old one," and then General Cunningham adds "that the whole of the present red stone facing was added by 'Ala-uddín Khiljí." and that the "design alone belongs to the time of Qutb-uddín Aibek." I am also aware of the fact that Babar calls the Minár "the minaret of 'Ala-uddín Khiljí," but those who have studied the character of 'Ala-uddín and have read his interminable inscriptions in the 'Alaí Darwázah, would hardly believe, that if he had re-covered the Minár, he would have renewed its older inscriptions without placing his own name somewhere on this pillar, as it occurs so often in the Darwázah 'Alaí.

The Unfinished Minar.—This is the last object of interest in the Masjid Quvvat-ul-Islám; it stands at a distance of about a quarter of a mile from the Mínár of Aibek. Amír Khusrau thus describes the projected Minár of 'Alá-uddín Khiljí: "He then resolved to make a pair to the lofty Minár of the Jam'a Masjid, which Minár was then the single (celebrated) one of the time, and to raise it so high that it could not be exceeded. * * He ordered the circumference of the new Minár to be made double that of the old one, and to make it higher in the same proportion."* As a Native Historian tenderly puts it, "his days did not help him; the King finished his life before he could complete his design." The Minár, as it now stands, has more the appearance of an unfinished than of a ruined building. It was designed after the Qutb Minár, and is the skeleton of what would have been a grand column covered with elaborate flutings. It is unnecessary to speculate as to the probable character of its casing, but the necessity for it is evident at first sight. The outer wall is divided into 32 faces of 8 feet each, and the whole column is not inappropriately described by General Cunningham, as "being exactly like a gigantic cogwheel." It is built of rough grey stone, on a plinth about 4½ feet in width and the same in height; the plinth itself stands on a terrace about 7½ feet in height, and about 22 feet in breadth. The unfinished column, according to General Cunningham, is 257 feet in circumference; according to my measurement, it is 254 feet in circumference, and according to Franklin, who visited the Minár over 80 years ago, 252 feet; the thickness of the outer wall is about 19 feet, and the whole column, inclusive of the plinth, is about 80 feet high. The central column, round which steps were to have been built, is 26 feet in diameter; and the passage which was intended to hold the steps, is 9 feet 9 inches wide. The Minár was commenced in 1311 A. D., but was abandoned on the death of 'Alá-uddín Khiljí.

Such was the famous Masjid Quvvat-ul-Islám. It was built by Qutb-uddín Aibek, who "adorned it with the stones and gold obtained from temples, which had been demolished

* Elliot's *History of India*, Vol. 3, p. 70.

by elephants." In the front of this mosque, Shams-uddín Altamsh placed, "in an ignominious position," the statue of Vikramáditya, which he had brought from the temple of Mahákál; and later still 'Alá-uddín Khiljí "paved the entrance of the Jam'a Masjid with fragments of the idol of Somnat for which he had refused a thousand pieces of gold."* In 1237, the Masjid was attacked by the "heretics of the city" of Old Delhi; and when, during the first three days of Timúr's occupation of Delhi, the persecuted Hindus sought shelter and prepared to defend themselves here, Timúr attacked the mosque, and the three cities which then constituted Old Delhi were sacked one after another. When Ibn Batuta saw the mosque, in the reign of Muhammad Sháh Tughlaq, he declared that "it was unequalled in the world either for its size or beauty."†

Hauz Shamsi, or the Tank of Shams-uddin Altamsh.—Khwájah Qutb-uddín Bakhtyár, better known as Qutb Sáhib, was one of the most renowned Muhammadan saints of India. He was the contemporary of Sultan Shams-uddín Altamsh, and was much respected by that monarch. It is related that 'Alí, the nephew of Muhammad, appeared in a dream both to the saint and the king, and the former was called upon to explain the dream. The King was advised by Qutb Sahib to build a tank where 'Alí had appeared. The advice was taken, and in the year 627 A. H. (1229 A. D.) Altamsh built this tank which has ever since been known as Hauz Shamsí. The sides of the tank were built with red sand-stone; of this material, however, nothing now remains; the tank covers fully a hundred acres of land, but its bed has risen with the accumulations of years, and it is only during the height of the rainy season that it ever retains water. In the year 711 A. H. (1311 A. D.) Sul-

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* Mr. Beglar discovered two images in black slate in his excavations at the northern gate of this mosque.

† "Even in situation, these ruins [which surround the Masjid] are singularly beautiful, for they stand on the gentle slope of a hill, overlooking a plain that had once apparently been a lake, but which afterwards became the site of three successive capitals of the East. In front are the ruins of Toghlakabad, the gigantic fort of an old Pathan chief; and further north the plain is still covered with the ruins of Old Delhi, the capital of the late Pathans and eastern Moghals." Fergusson's *History of Architecture*, Vol. II, p. 466. By Old Delhi, Fergusson evidently means Sírí and Jahánpanáh.

tan 'Alá-uddín Khiljí, finding that "the tank was occasionally dry, cleared it out, repaired it, and built a dome in the middle of it."*

This dome or pavilion stands on a masonry terrace, about 2½ feet high and 52 feet square; it is built of masonry and is supported by sixteen stone pillars, about 8 feet high, enclosing an open room 24 feet square. The pavilion is believed to commemorate a visit of the prophet Muhammad to the spot, and the print of his horse's hoofs is supposed to be in its centre. About two centuries later, Muhammad Sháh Tughlaq also repaired the tank; "it had been deprived of water," says the King, "by some graceless men who stopped up the chambers of supply," the offenders were punished and the closed up channels were opened for use.†

The Hauz is about a mile from the Iron Pillar, and is surrounded by the graves of Muhammadan saints and warriors and of other worthies, who had followed them to India. A walk round the tank takes the visitor over historic grounds: over the last resting places of men who had devoted themselves to a religious polity before which the unaggressive but chivalrous Hindu seldom held his own. It was a proud saying of the Muhammadan conquerors of Delhi that the bones of a hundred thousand martyrs were the price of their success; these martyred warriors were men of strong convictions who came from a distant land under renowned leaders, who had a duty to perform and had performed it right well. Such was the spirit of devotion that had consolidated an empire in India which, although it had undergone dynastic changes, continued essentially a foreign government for a period of over six hundred years! Saints and warriors, poets and preachers, are laid in their graves round the spot where the Prophet and his nephew had appeared; and by the side of its water stands the Aulíá Masjid where two of the greatest leaders of religious thought in the Muhammadan world, viz. Mu'ín-uddín Chístí and Qutb Sahib, returned thanks to the Almighty for the success which had attended the arms of the Faithful.‡

On the south of the Hauz are the Andheríá Bágh and the

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* *Tárikh-i-'Alái.* † *Tárikh-i-'Alái.* ‡ *Futúhát-i-Fíros Sháhí.*

burial ground of the Kambohs of Pánipat; and on the east are the Aulíá Masjid, and the Lál Mahal, otherwise known as the Jaháj, a house built by some merchant for the comfort of the Fakírs of the place.* On the west is the tomb of 'Abdúl Haq Dehlawí, the author of *Akhbár-ul-Akhiár,* and on the north is a neglected garden.

During the rains the water of this tank flows down to the hollow round Tughlakábád.

The Tomb of Sultan Gharí†.—Nasr-uddín Mahmúd Sháh was the eldest son of Sultan Shams-uddín Altamsh, and was Governor of Lakhnautí. "All the nobles and gentlemen turned their eyes towards him as the heir of his father's kingdom, but the decrees of fate did not accord with the wishes of the people." The Prince "fell sick and died. When the news of his death reached Delhi, all people were greatly distressed."‡ This event occurred in the year 626 A.H. (1228 A. D.) during the life time of Altamsh, who brought the body to Delhi and buried it in the village of Malikpúr, about three and a half miles to the north-west of the Qutb Minár; three years later, in 629 A. H. (1231 A. D.), he built a vaulted tomb over it. The crypt is decidedly pre-Muhammadan, but whether it was built by Hindu workmen or was a Hindu building appropriated by the Muhammadans, it is not easy to decide. Strictly religious Mahammadans scout the idea that Altamsh would have buried his son in a chamber which had been dedicated to idolatrous worship.

The tomb has the appearance of a fortified square enclosure, built of stone and mortar, and covered with plaster now black with age. It stands on a high plinth, about 14 feet from the ground, with a circular tower, surmounted with a

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* The Aulíá Masjid deserves more than a passing notice: it is situated in an enclosure about 54 feet long and 36 feet broad, the walls of which are remarkably low, being scarcely 3 feet high in some places. In its western wall is the Masjid, which consists of an arched recess about 6 feet high. In front of the Masjid are two slabs of sand-stone which are supposed to mark the spots where the two saints offered their prayers. The western wall of the mosque was about 14 feet from the dry bed of the Hauz when I visited the place in February last.

† So named from the vaulted crypt, or Ghár, in which the Prince is buried.

‡ *Tabaqát-i-Nasirí.*

conical dome, on each corner, and is entered by an arched gateway in its eastern wall. The gateway stands forward about three yards from the wall of the enclosure, and about four feet from its narrow wings, each of which is pierced with an over-lapping arched window. The gateway is about 30 feet high and 12 feet wide, but its wings are about four feet lower. The lower half of the piers of the arch are of red sand-stone and the upper half of marble ; the piers and the rectangular bands enclosing the arch are covered with verses from the Qorán. The plinth, the wings of the gateway, the walls and the towers are covered with plaster. The entrance is reached by two flights of steps ; the first, of eight steps, leads to a landing ; the second, of fourteen steps, takes the visitor into a room—about 14 feet from the ground —through which he enters the court-yard of the tomb. On either side of the gateway the main wall is pierced with two over-lapping arched windows, and at each end of the wall is a tower with two such openings ; the latter are now blocked up with stones. The whole of this side of the tomb is about 100 feet long. The northern wall of the enclosure is also covered with plaster ; it has the usual corner towers, and the wall is similarly pierced with six over-lapping arched windows, which are divided into two groups of three each by a dead wall, which is a third of the whole length of this side of the building. The western side of the tomb is like its northern side, but as the centre of the wall is the western wall of the mosque inside, it stands a little beyond the line of the rest of the wall. The southern wall of the tomb is partly injured, and some of its windows are also built up with stones, but in all other respects it is like the northern wall.

The inside view of the tomb is more interesting. The inner door of the arched gateway is profusely ornamented with scrolls and inscriptions on marble. The inscriptions on the gateway are to the following effect:

"The order for the construction of this auspicious building was given by the great King, the exalted Emperor, master of the necks of the people, the shadow of God over the world ; master of peace . . . the King of Kings ; the sun of the world and faith ; the elect by the mercy of the Almighty : Abul Muzaffar Altamsh, Sultan, the ally of the Amír-ul-Momenín. May God preserve his country. Abúl Fateh Mahmúd.

May God protect him with his forgiveness, and give him a place in the gardens of Paradise. In the months of the year 629 [Hijrí.]"

Through this doorway the visitor enters a room which leads to the court-yard; its flat ceiling is of red sand-stone, and its walls are coated with marble. What appear from outside as the wings of the gateway, are the eastern outer walls of two small rooms, one on either side of the room last mentioned, but the side rooms have marble floors and the roofs, which are formed with projecting stones, rest on groups of four marble pillars each.

As the visitor enters the courtyard, he stands under a covered colonnade consisting of six stone pilasters and six pillars about six feet apart. This colonnade does not extend the whole length of the wall, being only 24 feet long. On the opposite side, that is, the western wall of the court-yard, there is a colonnade which runs from the northern to the southern wall of the enclosure. Both the colonnades are of fluted pillars. The western colonnade consists of twelve pilasters; its roof is raised into a low dome, lined with projecting rows of carved stone in the Hindu fashion, and in the centre of the wall is a mosque, consisting of three arched recesses On either side of the mosque there is a marble pilaster; the rest of the pilasters are of red sand-stone. In the corresponding row of twelve pillars, those which are immediately on either side of the mosque are of marble, and the rest are of red sand-stone. Beside this colonnade, there is a third row of four marble pillars, put nearer together, forming a sort of small portico on the front of the mosque. Thus the room of the mosque is enclosed by seven marble pillars: three in front of the arched recesses and two on either side of them; the back of the room representing the sacred Kablah. The mosque is a square of ten feet; the roof is a dome of ornamental over-lapping red sand-stone, supported by an octagon resting on the pillars of the colonnade already described. The dome is about 14 feet from the floor and is covered with mortar. The Masjid wall is faced with marble, the arches are also covered with marble and profusely ornamanted with scrolls of beautiful designs and verses from the Qorán. The windows in the western wall are open.

In the centre of the inner southern wall there are pigeon

holes for lamps ; the northern wall has nothing deserving of notice. The conical masonry domes of the corner towers are built in the Hindu fashion, with layers of over-lapping stones. In the centre of this enclosure is the tomb of Nasr-uddín Mahmúd. It is a flat octagonal vault about 4 feet 7½ inches from the level of the court yard, each of its eight sides being about 10 feet long and covered with marble; on its eastern side seven steps lead to the top of the vault. To the south of the vault there is a small door 4¼ feet high; there is no other opening in the vault for light. Thirteen steps lead the visitor into an octagonal well, about 25 feet deep and about 18 feet wide, which "was originally finished in granite." Its roof, which is strengthened with fourteen stone pillars laid on their sides, is supported by 8 double pillars standing against the wall of the well, and four single pillars which stand a little way from it. These pillars are of the style of Altamsh's work. In each of the eight sides there are two niches. The graves are made of mortar and stone in the usual bier style, and are periodically painted with whitewash. The grave of Nasr-uddín is near the west wall of the crypt, and is the largest in size, being about 10 feet long, 7 feet wide and 4½ feet high. There is a smaller grave in the centre of the crypt, a still smaller one on the left of the second grave, and at its foot is the grave of a child. The roof of the well is built of substantial masonry.

The tomb of Shams-uddin Altamsh—In the year 633 A.H. (1235 A.D.) the most illustrious of the Slave Kings of Delhi, Shams-uddín Altamsh died, and was buried, outside the north-western corner of the Masjid Quvvat-ul-islám. Syud Ahmed Khán believes, though on what grounds he does not state, that this tomb was built by Sultan Raziyah Begam, the daughter of Altamsh. Mr. Campbell, on the other hand, is of opinion that it was built in the king's lifetime; he adds that the peculiarities observed in Altamsh's *extensions* of the Masjid Quvvat-ul-islám are repeated here, and remarks that the reigns of his two immediate successors were too short and troubled to have permitted them to undertake a work of such cost and labour.* General Cunningham has no decided opinion on the subject, but observes that the tomb is of the same age as the Qutb Minár.

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* *Notes on Delhi.*

The tomb consists of a single room, the interior of which is a square of 29½ feet, with walls 7½ feet thick ; its present height is only 28 feet. It has an arched entrance in its eastern, northern and southern walls ; the entrance to the north was closed up with stones, but this temporary obstruction is already half down. In the western wall of the tomb there are three niches which officiate for the *mehrâb* of a mosque. The centre niche is 9 feet high and 7⅓ feet wide; the side niches are 5 feet high and about 2½ feet wide. The three doors are 16 feet high and about 7 feet wide, and to a depth of about two feet the outer walls are pierced with false arches. These arches are about 11½ feet wide and about 27 feet high. The outer walls of the tomb are faced with sandstone, and the inner with red stone, the latter are also ornamented with marble bands and panels. The entrances are richly decorated with engravings of texts from the Qorán and with scrolls in great variety. The outer arches of the doors, as already described, are lofty and cut into the face of the walls ; the lower arches, which are the doors of the tomb, are about two-thirds the size of the outer, or the false, arches. On either side of the inner arches are octagonal pillars, tall and slim, and of great beauty, out of which the arches spring ; the jambs of the lower arches are covered with inscriptions from the Qorán. The inner walls are decorated with ornaments of exquisite finish and beauty. The centre niche in the western wall, is ornamented with marble and is of a richer finish than the rest of the tomb ; the other niches are faced with red sand-stone. In the corners of the room are beautifully carved pilasters, like those which support the false arches of the doors. The monument over the grave consists of a marble plinth 2⅓ feet high, 14 feet long and 9 feet wide ; on this form is fixed a block of marble, shaped like a casket, 3½ feet high, 10 feet long and 6 feet wide. Over the casket is placed the usual bier-shaped sarcophagus so common in Muhammadan burial grounds ; it is about 1¾ feet high, about 7 feet long and 3 feet wide. The whole monument is 7 feet and 7 inches high.

Fergusson doubts that there was a roof to this tomb; to use his own words [it] "was never completed if ever commenced." General Cunningham has "good reason to believe that it was originally covered by an over-lapping Hindu dome. A

single stone of one of the over-lapping circles with Arabic letters on it, still remains." From the remains on the top of the southern wall of the tomb, which I examined, I am perfectly satisfied that there was a roof on the tomb. The following extract from the *Fatu-hát-i-Fírozsháhí* is rather puzzling—"The columns of the tomb, which had fallen down, I restored better than they had been before. When the tomb was built, its court had not been plastered, but I now made it so. I enlarged the hewn stone staircase of the dome, and I re-erected the fallen piers of the four towers." From the above, it would appear that the tomb had a dome in the centre and a pavilion on each of its four corners; but beyond the ruins over the southern walls, there is nothing to help me in verifying the description of Sultan Fírozsháh Tughlaq. Of this tomb Fergusson writes:—"Though small, it is one of the richest examples of Hindu art applied to Mahomedan purposes that Old Delhi affords, and is extremely beautiful, though the builder still displays a certain degree of inaptness in fitting the details to their new purposes." According to the same authority, it is the oldest tomb in India.

The tombs of Rukn-uddin Firoz Shah, and Mu'iz-uddin Bahram Shah.—Rukn-uddín Fíroz Sháh was the son and successor of Altamsh; he was deposed by his nobles in favor of his sister Razíyah Begam, and died in prison in 635 A. H. (1237 A.D.) and was buried under the walls of the tomb of Sultan Nasr-uddín Mahmúd Sháh, his eldest brother in the village of Malikpúr. Five years later, his younger brother, Bahrám Sháh, was buried beside him. Although, according to Syud Ahmed Khán, there is an interval of about a year between the dates of the two tombs, it is perfectly impossible to distinguish the tomb of Rukn-uddín from that of his brother Bahrám Sháh, and I have therefore considered it advisable to describe them together. According to Syud Ahmed Khán, a tomb was built over the remains of Rukn-uddín by Razíyah Begam in 638 A. H. (1240 A. D.). Mui'zuddín Bahrám Shah was a younger son of Altamsh; he succeeded his sister Raziyah Begam; but his nobles, who rebelled against him, besieged him in Qil'ah Rái Pithora, took him prisoner and murdered him in the year 639 A. H. (1242 A. D.)

According to Syud Ahmed Khán this tomb was erected in the year 639 A.H. (1242 A.D.) by Sultan 'Alá-uddín Mas'úd Sháh, the son of Bahrám Sháh. I have not been able to find any authority for the Syud's description, either as regards the builders or the dates of the tombs.

The two tombs are similar in shape and construction ; they are covered with small rubble masonry domes supported on eight stone pillars ; each tomb has a small enclosure of low rough stone walls, with a narrow gateway on its east side ; the sarcophagus on the grave is missing. There is no inscription on either of the tombs, and although the guide from the village of Mahrauli is ready to distinguish them, I am content to believe that they contain the graves of two of the younger sons of Altamsh, without venturing, however, to allot to each his proper resting place. There can be little doubt that the domes of the tombs belong to a later age than the pillars which, in my opinion, are parts of the original buildings. "The domes," writes Mr. Tremlett, "as they exist at present, I have no doubt are the work of Fíroz Sháh. . . as their shape and size points to a much later era than the Hindu-like domes of their brother's tomb hard by; and the rubble masonry of which they are constructed, while quite in the style of Firoz Shah's time, contrasts unnaturally with the massive stone slabs by which the columns are surmounted."*

Sultan Firoz Shah's repairs to the tombs are best described in his own words :—"Tomb of Sultan Muiz-uddin, son of Sultan Shums-uddin, which is situated in Malikpur. This had fallen into such ruin that the sepulchres were undistinguishable. I re-erected the dome, the terrace and the enclosure wall. Tomb of Sultan Rukn-uddin, son of Shams-uddin, in Malikpur—I repaired the enclosure wall, built a new dome and erected a monastery."

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* Mr. Beglar observes that as "these domes are of the usual Muhammadan construction and not formed by over-lapping courses. . it is evident that in Iltitmish's [Altamsh] time the Mahammadans knew how to build the true dome." Mr. Beglar takes no notice of the repairs done to the tombs by Fíroz Sháh Tughlak.

The grave of Raziyah Sultan Begam.—The empire of Delhi does not form an exception to the rule that, under despotic governments, the blandishments of the softer sex have not seldom superseded the influence of Ministers of State. But Razíyah Begam has the sad distinction of being the first and the last Queen of Delhi. The historians of her reign prefer her to her two brothers; she was remarkable for courage and audacity, but she had little of that discretion which alone can redeem whatever there is dangerous in the other qualities. She had not been long on the throne before her unpopularity raised a rival to her in the person of her brother, Mu'iz-uddín Bahrám Sháh who, with a strong aristocratic coalition of which he was then a tool, overcame his sister on the 25th of Rab'í-ul-avval 638, A. H. (1240 A. D.) According to Minháj-us-siráj, Raziyah was killed by the Hindus at Kaithal. According to Ibn Batuta she was killed by "a man engaged in cultivating the ground, who after murdering and burying her, carried some of her garments to the market for sale;" the murderer was caught and taken before the Magistrate; he confessed "that he had killed Razíyah and told his guards where he had buried her. They exhumed her body, washed it, and wrapping it in a shroud, burned it again in the same place. A small shrine was erected over her grave, which is visited by pilgrims and is considered a place of sanctity. It is situated on the banks of the Jumna, about one parasang [5½ miles] from Delhi." Batuta is so often inaccurate in his description of places he had not seen, and is so ready to rely on hearsay, that it is not easy to decide whether his description of the shrine on the grave or its distance of *one parasang* from the river should be accepted or not. I do not, however, share Mr. Beglar's doubt as to the identity of the grave. Although Ibn Batuta is silent as to the name of the builder of the shrine, Syud Ahmed Khán believes that the grave of Razíyah was built by her brother and successor, Mu'iz-uddín Bahrám Sháh, in the year 638 A. H. (1240 A. D.)

The grave, which is situated in the modern city of Delhi, near the Turkman gate, and in the quarter known as Búlbúlí Khánah, is identified by local tradition, and I see no reason to reject its authority. It stands inside an enclosure about 35 feet square, the wall of which is of red sand-stone, and, with the

balustrade, about 8 feet and 3 inches high ; the entrance door is also of red sand-stone, and is 6 feet 3 inches high. In the western wall of the enclosure is a mosque, consisting of an arched recess about 3 feet 8 inches wide, 3 feet 3 inches deep, and 6 feet high. On a red sand-stone *chabútrah*, to the north of the enclosure, there are two bier shaped graves, built with stone and mortar. At the head of one of the graves is a small masonry pillar, eighteen inches high, used as a lamp stand : this is said to be the grave of Razíyah ; the other grave is said to belong to her sister Sazíyah Begam, who is unknown to history. The graves are about 3 feet 5 inches from the level of the floor of the enclosure, and are about 8 feet long. The *chabútrah* is about 16 feet by 13. On the south-east corner of the enclosure there are two other graves, which even tradition has failed to identify.

The grave of Shah Turkman alias Shams-ul-'Aarafin, —Shah Turkman was one of the many pious men, who followed in the track of the Muhammadan conquerors of India, and who drew to themselves crowds of earnest followers not less eager to follow the religious commands of their spritual advisers than to be led to battle by their military leaders. Shah Turkman was a man of considerable local influence. He is believed to have settled close to the spot where he was interred, and the river is said to have flowed under his house ; I am afraid, however, that there is very little truth in this account. He was a desciple of the saint Sohrwardí, and was 78 years of age when Qutb Sahib began his career as a great religious leader. The Turkman gate of modern Delhi is named after the deceased. He died on the 24th of Rajab, 638 A. H. (1240 A. D.) in the reign of Mu'iz-uddín Bahrám Sháh. The bier-shaped tomb which covers his grave is built with stone and mortar; a small portion of the floor round it is covered with marble, and it is fenced off with a low marble railing. The other graves within the walled enclosure are those of some of his disciples.

On the anniversary of the death of Shah Turkman a fair is held in the neighborhood of his grave, and the first day of spring is celebrated here with great éclat.

Kushak Lal or Qil'ah Marzgan, or Dar-ul-aman, and the Tomb of Balban.—The history of the palace and of the tomb are so intimately connected with each other, that it is necessary to treat them together. The Red Palace, or Kushak Lál, was built by Ghiás-uddín Balban, in the year 654 A. H., (1255 A. D.) ; this date, however, is only a conjecture of Syud Ahmed Khán. Very little of the history of this palace is known : Jalál-uddín Fíroz Sháh Khiljí is said to have visited it, after his coronation at the Kasr Safed ; he dismounted in front of the palace to mark his respect for the memory of Sultan Balban—next to Altamsh, the most illustrious of the Slave Kings of Delhi. Fifteen Royal refugees attended Balban's Court at the Kushak Lál, and the most eminent men of science and literature of his time flourished here under his liberal patronage. The two other noteworthy events connected with this palace, relate to the burial of Balban and of 'Alá-uddín Khiljí. The corpse of Sultan Balban, says Barní, " was taken out of the Red Palace at night and was buried in the Dár-ul-aman." The same author adds further on that : " On the sixth of Shavvál, towards morning, the corpse of 'Alá-uddín was brought out of the Red Palace of Sírí, and was buried in a tomb in front of the Jami Masjid." I am of opinion that Kushak Lál was a palace within the city of Rái Pithora, and must set aside the speculations of Syud Ahmed Khán that it was built near the grave of Nizám-uddín Aulía, and that the ruins of Lál Mahal (which see) mark its site. We are also told by Barní, that Balban's grandson, Kai Qubád, built a new fort at Kilokheri, " that he gave up residing in the city and quitted the Red Palace." By " the city," the writer means Old Delhi, and when Balban had provisioned the fort of Rái Pithora, it is not likely that he would have built his own residence outside the defences of the fort. We have no mention of a Red Palace in Sírí, while references to the Red Palace of Old Delhi are of constant occurrence. If we are to believe Ferishta, that 'Alá-uddín Khiljí lived in the Red Palace before he built Sírí, the Red Palace from where his corpse was removed for interment must have been the Palace of Balban which, in my opinion, was in the city of Rái Pithora, otherwise known as Old Delhi.

Again, as Syud Ahmed Khán has it that the fort of Marzgan was built close to Kushak Lál and Balban was buried

here, there can be little doubt as to the site of the Red Palace. The tomb of Balbán and the Red Palace were within the city of Rái Pithora, and so undoubtedly was Marzgan. That Marzgan was miscalled a Qil'ah (fort) I do not doubt, and my opinion has the authority of Amír Khusrau and Ibn Batuta.

Marzgan is supposed to have been built by Balban in 666 A. H. (1266 A. D.), when he was raised to the throne of Delhi. Syud Ahmed Khán cannot account for the name, but the earlier historians call it a "house," and it is generally known as the Dár-ul-aman, the Abode of Safety or the House of Rest: "because," says Batuta, "whenever any debtor entered this place his debt was adjudged, and in like manner every person found justice; every man-slayer deliverance from his adversary; and every person in fear protection." This place was in existence when Batuta visited Delhi in the thirteenth century; writing of Balban he says: "He built a house to which he gave the name of Abode of Safety . . The Sultan was buried in the building and I have visited his tomb." Bábar also visited the Palace and tomb of Balban; he does not mention the fort. Abúl Fazl was the first authority of importance who magnified the palace into a fort, and he has been scrupulously followed by all subsequent writers on the subject. Amír Khusrau and Ibn Batuta describe it as a "house."

In the year 684 A. H. (1285 A. D.) the eldest son of Balban, who was then governor of Multan, fell in battle against the Moghals near Lahore. "This calamity," says Barní, "caused great and general mourning in Multan. . . From that time the deceased Prince was called 'the Martyr Prince'" [Khán Shahíd]. The King's grief was great; "he held his Court by day, but at night he poured forth his cries of grief, tore his garments, and threw dust upon his head;"—he was an old man with the burden of eighty years on him,—"the reign of Balban now drew to a close, and he gradually sank under his sorrow" in the year 685 A. H. (1286 A. D.), and was buried in the Dár-ul-aman.

The tomb of Balban is within a few minutes walk of the Qutb Minár, and about a hundred yards from the ruins of a village now completely deserted. It stands within a ruined enclosure of low and heavy stone walls, with small arched

openings. At some distance from this are the remains of a large enclosure, probably of a *sarai*, and this I believe was the Dár-ul-aman. What now remains of the tomb are four bare walls, the stone facings of which have been removed, and the walls themselves, as they now stand, are nine feet deep piles of rough hewed stones and mortar. The tomb of Balban is about twice the size of the tomb of Altamsh; its dome fell in not very long ago, and the debris are scattered over the grave. The stone sarcophagus, which once stood over the grave, like every thing else that was made of stone in the tomb, was removed by the neighbouring villagers, but there is no mistaking the site of the grave. The tomb has four entrances; those facing the west and the south are smaller than those on the other two sides; and the remains of inscriptions, now hardly legible, may yet be seen over the entrances to the east and the west. The outer corners of the tomb are cut off and recessed; the square walls of the tomb support an octagon on the top, out of which sprang the dome which once covered the grave. Adjoining this tomb are the walls of a domeless room, which I fancied was a gateway, but which Syud Ahmed Khán calls the grave of Balban's son, the Martyr Prince. This room is much smaller than the tomb of Balban, and although there is nothing to indicate the grave, I do not think it at all unlikely that the ruined walls belong to a tomb. The eastern entrance to this tomb is a roomy arched gateway now in danger of settling down; the inner face of this arch bears traces of painting. The northern wall of the tomb has no opening in it; the entrance through the southern wall leads into Balban's tomb; the western entrance is still in existence. The doors in the western and the southern walls are considerably smaller than the main entrance which faces the east.

The walls of the smaller courtyard, which belongs to the tomb, are still visible in some places, as are also the ruins of its small arched masonry gateways; the ruins of the larger enclosure can also be traced, here and there, but they are not so abundant as those of the smaller one.

I can find no authority for the popular opinion that Ghiás-uddín Balban was the founder of a city of the name of Ghiáspúr, or that that city had ever acquired the renown or importance of Old Delhi, Kilokheri, Sírí or Tughlaqábád.

The Fort of Kilokheri, Kilugheri, Kasr Mu'izzi, or Naia Shahr.—This fort was built by Sultan Kai Qubád, the grandson of Balban, in the village of Kilokheri in the year 685 A. H. (1286 A. D.). That Kilokheri was a place of some importance, and a royal residence even before the time of Kai Qubád, is evident from the history of Minháj-us-Siráj, who published his *Tabaqát-i-Nasiri*, in the reign of Balban. It is related that when Nasr-uddín received the ambassador of Haláku Khán, the soldiers formed a street from the palace of Kushak Sabz to the "new city of Kilugheri, at the royal residence."

Kai Qubád, however, raised the city to greater importance. He "laid out a beautiful garden at Kilughari on the banks of the Jamna. Thither he retired, with the nobles and attendants of his Court, and when it was seen that he had resolved upon residing there, the nobles and officers also built palaces and dwellings, and taking up their abode there, Kilugheri became a popular place."* When Jalál-uddín Fíroz Sháh Khiljí rebelled and established himself at Bahárpúr, Kai Qubád was "kicked to death in his palace at Kilokheri." Jalal-uddin was, by popular consent enthroned here in the year 688 A.H. (1289 A.D.). Not being able to march into Delhi, Jálal-uddín finished the fort of Kai Qubád, made Kilokheri his capital and lived in it. In the course of a few years, Kilokheri came to be known as Naiá Shahr, or New City, and Qil'ah Rái Pithora as Puráná Delhi or Old Delhi.

Kushak Lal of Jalal-uddin Khilji.—Syud Ahmed Khán calls the palace of Jalál-uddín, Kushak Lál or Naiá Shahr, but I am unable to follow any authority; nor is it historically true, as stated by the Syud, that Naiá Shahr was ever called Naia Delhi. According to Ibn Batuta, Jalál-uddín Khiljí "built the palace which bears his name;" but for this statement he alone is responsible, for it is not repeated by any other historian. Nothing remains of Kushak Lál. Syud Ahmed Khán further states that

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* Barní.

Jalál-uddín built a palace called Kushak Sabz, and that it stood close to Kushak Lál; but, as he identifies it with the palace where the son of Jalál-uddín was enthroned, the learned Syud is obviously confounding it with the palace of that name in Qil'ah Rái Pithora. Kushak Lál was built in the year 688 A. H. (1289 A. D.)

Hauz 'Alai or Hauz Khas.—This magnificent tank, covering over 70 acres of land, was built by Sultan 'Alá-uddín Khiljí, in the year 695 A. H. (1295 A. D.,) and was enclosed by a stone and masonry wall. In the reign of Fíroz Sháh Tughlaq (about 755 A. H. 1354 A. D.) "it was filled up and there was no water in it. People carried on cultivation in it and had dug wells, of which they sold the water." Fíroz Sháh cleared it out, "so that this great tank might again be filled from year to year." The repairs then done to the tank were so extensive, that Timúr ascribes the tank itself to Fíroz Sháh: "This is a reservoir," writes Timúr, "which was constructed by Sultan Fíroz Sháh and is faced all round with cement. Each side of that reservoir is more than a bow-shot long, and there are buildings round it. This tank is filled by the rains in the rainy season, and it supplies the people of the city with water throughout the year."*

In the year 753 A.H. (1352 A.D.) Fíroz Sháh "built a college (Madrassa) at the top of this tank."† Almost the entire length of the southern side of the Hauz consists of old buildings. The Madrassa of Fíroz Sháh is a range of low masonry rooms, and now partly in the occupation of villagers, who use them for the ordinary purposes of a residence. The Mutawali of the Madrassa, Sayyad Yúsuf Bin Jamál died in 790 A. H. (1388 A. D.) and was buried in the court of the college.

Siri or Delhi 'Alai.—According to Syud Ahmed Khán, the fort of Sírí was built by 'Ala-uddín Khiljí in the year 703 A. H. (1303 A. D.) in or near a village of the same name. It is about two miles to the north-east of

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* Yazdí who copies, and not seldom distorts, *Malfuzát-i-Timúrí*, calls the Hauz a wide and deep well, one of the works of Fíroz Sháh."

† *Tarikh-i-Mubárak Sháhí.*

Qil'ah Rái Pithora, and is now the site of the village of Sháhpúr or Sháhábad. Old Delhi having twice escaped destruction from the hands of Moghal invaders, 'Alá-uddín repaired Qil'ah Rái Pithora, and built a new fort which he called Sírí. As an act of signal revenge, eight thousand Moghal skulls were buried in the foundations, or built into the walls of the new fortress. The walls of Sírí were built of stone and masonry, but enough has been written on the splendour of the new fort to lead us to believe that it was a place not only of military, but probably of architectural importance. In the year 948 A. H., (1548 A. D.) the fort of Sírí was destroyed by Sher Sháh, who used the materials of 'Alá-uddín's citadel for building his own city, Shergarh, on the banks of the Jumna.

Timúr thus describes the city of Sírí :—" It is a round city. Its buildings are lofty. They are surrounded by fortifications built of stone and brick, and they are very strong. Old Delhi also has a similar fort, but it is larger than that of Sírí. From the fort of Sírí to that of Old Delhi, which is a considerable distance, there runs a strong wall, built of stone and cement. . . Sírí has seven gates, four towards the outside and three on the inside towards Jahánpanáh." Yazdí mentions in his *Zafarnámah*, that " from the wall of Sírí on the north-east to the wall of Old Delhi on the south-west, a wall has been erected on both sides, and the space between is called Jahánpanáh."

Sírí was the third capital, in succession, of the Muhammadan Empire of Delhi. The Slave kings, with the exception of Kai Qubád, the last member of that dynasty, held their court and issued their commands from Qil'ah Rái Pithora ; Jalál-uddín Khiljí completed the city-fortress of Kai Qubád at Kilokheri, which was subsequently known as Naiá Shahr ; his nephew and successor, 'Alá-uddín built the fort of Sírí, which continued to be the capital of the empire till the year 1321 A. D. when Sultan Ghiás-uddín Tughlaq Sháh built a new city and a citadel which he called Tughlaqábád.

General Cunningham questions Burgess, Lewis, Cope and Campbell's identification of the fort of Sírí with the "citadel around the Qutb." On Lieutenant Burgess's work, I have nothing to say. Colonel Lewis and Mr. Cope have written some very interesting papers on the archæology of Delhi, but they have also been guilty of

some hasty writings on the subject, which do not add to their weight as authorities. Mr. Campbell, on the other hand, is a precise and instructive writer, for whose opinion I entertain great respect; but in the question raised by General Cunningham, the credit of sound argument is altogether on his side, and an inquiry, which I may be permitted to say has exhausted all available authorities, leaves no doubt in my mind that those who are opposed to him in the discussion have completely failed to establish their case. If the village of Sháhpúr does not mark the site of ancient Sírí, we must give up all attempts to identify *its* locality.

From Timúr and Sharaf-uddín Yazdí's description of the three cities which then constituted Delhi, we are led to infer that to the north-east of this group was Sírí, that to its north-west was Delhi—which was larger than Sírí;—and that in its middle was Jahánpanáh, which again was much larger than Delhi. General Cunningham's identification of Sírí with Sháhpúr has also the support of Muhammadan authorities, according to whom Delhi lies to the south-west of Sháhpúr; Jahánpanáh, between Sháhpúr and Delhi, while Sháhpúr is described as being smaller than Delhi.

The following abstract of all that is historically known of Sírí will satisfy the reader that, in the controversy between General Cunningham and Mr. Burgess and those who follow the latter, General Cunningham has the advantage both as regards arguments and facts:

1. Sírí was a village outside the walls of Qil'ah Rái Pithora, and the plains of Sírí, like the plains of Hauz Rání, were used as encamping grounds. When Kai Qubád (687 A. H. 1287 A. D.) fixed his head quarters at Sírí, we are told that the right wing of his army was at Tilpat and the left at Indrapat; the centre of an army so encamped would be at Sháhpúr. It is therefore a perfectly justifiable inference that Sírí was outside Qil'áh Rái Pithora, and that it was between the villages of Indrapat and Tilpat.

2. Sírí was founded, either as a city or a fort, in 703 A. H. (1303 A. D.); but, before its foundation, that is in 605 A. H. (1205 A. D.), there were two rival cities on the right banks of the Jamna, namely, Old Delhi and Naiá Shahr. When Rukn-uddín Ibrahím, the cousin of 'Ala-uddín, was raised to the throne in Old Delhi, 'Ala-uddín "was encamped at Sírí."

There was no fort of that name at the time, and the reference is evidently to "the plains of Sírí."*

3. In 697 A. H. (1297 A.D.), 'Alá-uddín "marched out of Delhi with great display and pitched his tent in Sírí." The encampment must have been at some distance from Delhi; at all events it could not possibly have been inside that city.†

4. On another occasion, 'Ala-uddín is said to have "left the capital and encamped at Sírí." This again refers to Old Delhi, and therefore its identity, or any part of it, with Sírí is impossible.

5. Two formidable incursions of the Moghals into northern India compelled 'Alá-uddín to repair the old forts of Delhi and build a new one. It is hardly necessary to add that, had the new fort been built in Old Delhi, it would not have been named after Sírí.

If Abul Fazl's description of Sírí is not grossly inaccurate, and I have no reason to believe that it is, we must set aside the idea that it was built in one well-known locality while it bore the name of another! If the new fort was called Sírí, it was certainly not built within the walls of the city of Rái Pithora. We have already given Timúr and Yazdí's accounts of the three cities which then comprised Delhi; Ibn Batuta writes of "four neighbouring cities," which went by the name of Delhi: the first he calls the "old city built by the idolators," and Sírí, according to him, was the "seat of the Khalifat." Unless the idolatrous city was twice its known size, we must find room for the "Khalifat" elsewhere than in the city of Rái Pithora.

Kasr Hazar Sathun or the Palace with a Thousand pillars.—When 'Alá-uddín Khiljí entrenched himself in Sírí, in front of the Moghal encampment, (703 A. H., 1303 A. D), he built on the site of his entrenchment a palace of a thousand pillars, otherwise known as Kasr Hazár Sathún. According to the usages of the time, the heads of thousands of

* Barni.
† Barni.

Moghals were buried in the foundation and built into the walls of the new palace. General Cunningham has fixed the locality of this palace inside the western half of the fort of Sháhpúr, which, as I have already remarked, he identifies with Sírí; Mr. Beglar, however, has recognised its ruins "a short way outside the south walls of it." Timúr confounds it with the Hazár Sathún of Muhammad Sháh Tughlaq, *alias* Malik Jauna: "some of the ladies of my harem," writes the Prince, "expressed a wish to go into the city and see the palace of Hazár Sathún, which Malik Jauna built in the fort called Jahánpanáh."

The ruins of this palace suggest no idea of the building as it once existed. According to Amír Khusrau, the display of plunder from Arangál by Malik Kafúr, a distinguished general of 'Alá-uddín Khiljí, was "made in front of the Golden Palace," but the *Taríkh Fíroz Sháhí* gives a more detailed account of the event, and states that it occurred in the Palace of Hazár Sathún.

Thirty-five days after the death of 'Alá-uddín Khiljí (1317 A. D.), Malik Kafúr, the valued counsellor of 'Alá-uddín, was treacherously murdered by the slaves of 'Alá-uddín's successor, Qutb-uddín Mubárak Sháh, in his room in the palace of Hazár Sathún.

In 1320 A. D., Khusrau Khán's Hindu followers assassinated Sultan Qutb-uddín Mubárak Sháh on the terrace of this palace, and, a few months later, Khusrau Khán was executed by the order of Ghiás-uddín Tughlaq Sháh, "on the very spot where he had killed Qutb-uddín. His head and body were thrown from the palace, as he had done with the head of his predecessor."

In the same year, Tughlaq Sháh "seated himself in the Hazár Sathún, and in the presence of the assembled nobles, wept over the unhappy fate which had befallen Qutb-uddín and the other sons of 'Alá-uddín his patron."

Such are the historical associations which surround the memory of this famous palace; of its architectural pretensions, we can say nothing beyond what may be conveyed by its name.

The Tomb of 'Ala-uddin Khilji—"On the 6th of Shavvál, (715 A. H., 1315 A. D.) towards morning, the corpse of 'Alá-uddín was brought out of the Red Palace of Sírí, and was buried in a tomb in front of Jam'a Masjid." This is exactly where the grave of 'Alá-uddín is popularly believed to be, and where it is also placed by Syud Amed Khán.* Sultan Fíroz Sháh Tughlaq, in the list of repairs done to ancient buildings by his orders, mentions the following; "Tomb of Sultan 'Alá-uddín: I repaired this, and furnished it with sandal wood doors. I repaired the walls of the abdar khanah, and the west wall of the mosque which is within the college, and I also made good the tesselated pavement."

The grave of 'Alá-uddín stands on the southern side of a court yard, about 400 feet long and 200 feet wide, the western and southern sides of which were finished by 'Ala-uddín's successor. The northern wall was perhaps never finished; about a fifth of the eastern wall is formed by the back wall of Altamsh's extension of the western wall of the Masjid Quvvat-ul-Islám.

The court yard of the tomb is entered from all sides. Its present main entrances are on the east and the west: on the east through the wall of Altamsh's extension already referred to; on the west the entrance is on the continuation of the road from the Qutb Minár to Adham Khán's tomb. The western entrance is a Pathan gateway of stone and masonry, and the rest of the buildings within the enclosure are of the same materials The arch of the gateway is about 14 feet high and 11 feet wide, and the masonry wall over it is about 4 feet high; on the right of the spectator, as he faces the gate from inside, there is a domed room about 8 feet higher than the gateway, adjoining which there are three rooms about 14 feet by 11, with arched doors. Next to this, there is a second domed room a little wider than the first, and apparently a second gateway. On its right there are three rooms like those on its

* Mr. Beglar believes, that a "fine marble tomb-stone at Sírí, yellow with age and exposure, of which the people have no traditions, but which can be no other than 'Ala-uddín's tomb," and that "it is recorded in history that 'Ala-uddín was buried in Hazarsitun." This is evidently a mistake; Syud Ahmed Khán's account is in accord with history.—See *Tarikh Fíroz-Sháhí.*

left, but the last room is now levelled with the ground. We have now finished the western wall of the court yard ; on its north, even the ruins, if any did exist, have disappeared ; and we now turn to the south. On this side, the wall consists of the ruins of three domed rooms, the grave of 'Alá-uddín Khiljí being in the centre room. The tomb is about 50 feet long and 32 feet wide ; on either side of it there is a passage which divides it from the side rooms, which are half the size of the room in the centre. These rooms are domeless ; the stone and mortar of the walls are bare, the red sandstone facing having been removed years ago.

Behind these rooms, but forming a part of the tomb, are the ruins of a row of flat-roofed rooms, about 24 feet wide and of the length of the southern wall of the enclosure. There are six niches in the southern wall of these ruins and a doorway in its centre ; in the south eastern wall there are steps which conducted the visitor to the top of the building. The walls of the tomb and of the rooms attached to it, are completely bare.

The eastern wall of the enclosure is formed by a row of three flat roofed rooms with arched doors, corresponding with those on the west ; adjoining this is a gateway facing the one on the opposite side, and this, I believe, was the city entrance of the tomb. Beyond this is the wall of the western extension of the Masjid Quvvat-ul-Islám. On the south-eastern outside corner of 'Alá-uddín's tomb, are the ruins of the Masjid which belonged to it. Both the college and the *Abdár Khánah*, which Fíroz Sháh says he repaired, were in the rooms in the eastern and western walls of the tomb.

The Fort and City of Tughlaqabad.—Tughlaqábád is about twelve miles to the south of Modern Delhi. According to Syud Ahmed Khán the building of this fort and city was commenced in 721 A. H. (1321 A. D.) and completed in 723 (1323 A. D.)* Fergusson appropriately describes it as "the gigantic fort of an old Pathan Chief." It is an irregular half hexagon in shape, with three short sides facing the east, west and north, of rather more than three quarters of a mile

* This was the fourth city which, in succession, became the capital of the empire of Delhi. It is described by Ibn Batuta as one of the four cities which constituted Delhi ; the first was Old Delhi or Qil'ah Rái Pithora, the second Kilokheri or Naiá Shahr, the third Sírí, and the fourth Tughlaqábád.

in length each, and a base of a mile and a half on the south; the former is protected by a deep ditch, and the latter by a large sheet of water, held up by artificial embankments at the south-east corner. The whole circuit of Tughlaqábád is only a furlong less than four miles. The fort stands on a rocky height surrounded by ravines, with a piece of low ground, probably the dry bed of a lake, on one side of it. The walls of the fort are built of massive blocks of stone, of extraordinary thickness, and contain two storeyed domed rooms. The largest stone which General Cunningham observed was 14 feet in length by 2½ feet 2 inches, and 1 foot 10 inches in breadth, and must have weighed rather more than six tons.

The rock on the southern face is scarped, the walls above rise to a mean height of 40 feet, with a parapet pierced with low sloping loopholes and crowned with a line of rude loopholed stone battlements of 7 feet. Behind this rises another wall of 15 feet, the whole height above the low ground being upwards of 90 feet. In the south-west angle is the citadel, which occupies about one-sixth of the area of the fort, and contains the ruins of a large palace. The ramparts are raised on domed rooms, which, General Cunningham believes, were the quarters of the troops garrisoned in the fort. Some of the bastions are still in a fair state of preservation. "The walls slope rapidly inwards, even as much as those of Egyptian buildings." But the vast size, the great strength, and the visible solidity of the whole give to Tughlaqábád an air of stern and massive grandeur, which is striking.* "One of the grandest sights I ever witnessed," writes Captain Archer, of the general appearance of Tughláqabád, and wonders how these enormous blocks of stone were fashioned and put up as they are; while the writer in Thornton's Gazetteer believes that "walls so massive" can only be destroyed by an earthquake.

"The citadel," writes Franklin, "is strongly defended by ranges of towers and bastions, within which were the private apartments of the emperor; here, in times of danger he was perfectly secure, as the ascent even at this period is winding and difficult, the naked rocks form the glacis of the place, the

*Archæological Reports. 1 Vol., p. 313.

approaches to which were thus rendered almost impracticable. At the foot of the citadel is a tank of great magnitude and depth, lined with stone, from which the garrison were supplied."

The general plan of these ruins, according to Mr. Beglar, suggests a "court-yard surrounded on three, and sometimes on all, sides by rows of rooms ; there was only one entrance to each such enclosure, and facing the side on which the entrance was, is the hall, an oblong of about 15 or 20 feet by 12 feet wide ; on either side of this were small rooms communicating with the hall and with the court-yard. Sometimes, the hall had also a range of small rooms at the back ; all the rooms are furnished with numerous small arches, but never a window opening outwards."

The ascent to the main gateway is steep and rocky, and now that the ruins of some of the inner rooms have tumbled into the passage which leads to it, it is by no means an agreeable undertaking. The gateways are formed " of masses of granite of huge dimensions, hewn out of the rocks at the foot of the wall."

" The Fort of Tughlaqábád has 13 gates, and there are three inner gates to the citadel." According to Syud Ahmed Khán, who follows tradition, there were 56 bastions and 52 gates in the fort and city of Tughlaqábád; but General Cunningham's statement is decidedly more trustworthy.

" It contains seven tanks for water, besides the ruins of several large buildings, as the Jama Masjid and the Birij Mandir."*

" There are three extensive baolis [springs] in perfect order ; there are apartments under ground from thirty to eighty feet, on a level with large wells or tanks of water faced with stone. The emperor's consist of a suite of eight circular rooms with arched roofs and a space of two feet in diameter at top for the purpose of admitting light. The rooms are twenty feet in diameter and were used in the hot

* General Cunningham does not give his authority for placing the ruins of the tower known as Birij Mandir in Tughlaqábád. For reasons stated in the proper place, I agree with Syud Ahmed Khán that this tower belonged to Jahánpanáh.

weather. . . The third baoli is situated near the citadel. There are tanks to each of these ranges of rooms, 40 by 30 feet in length and breadth, all lined with free stone."*

The upper part of the fort is full of ruined houses, while the lower appears never to have been fully inhabited.

The sense of grandeur, which a distant view of the fort so strongly impresses on the spectator's mind is not sustained when he finds himself within the walls of the fort and amidst its piles of ruins. The desolation which here surrounds him has no special claim to his attention ; he has to walk out of the view of the debris of ruined walls and compartments, and once more to look at the lofty walls and the commanding height of its massive bastions, before he can realise the majestic solidity of this magnificent fort.

Tughlaqábád belonged to the principality of Balabgarh, but it was annexed by the British Government for the complicity of its Raja in the rebellion of 1857. It is now an insignificant Gujar village, the importance of which is entirely due to its ruins. Nizám-uddín Aulíá, the saint of whom we shall have to speak at greater length hereafter, and who carried on a secret war against Sultan Ghiás-uddín Tughlaq Sháh, prophecied of this fort, that it shall

Either be inhabited by Gujars
Or be abandoned.

Yáh base Gujar
Yáh rahe ujar.

The Tomb of Ghias-uddin Tughlaq Shah—Tughlaq Sháh was gifted with some originality of character, but with great courage and untiring energy. He repulsed four Moghal invasions with such slaughter, that for the rest of his life he established for himself the reputation of being the most successful general of his time. In 725 A. H. (1325 A. D.) while returning from a successful invasion of Bengal, one of the Governors of which country, Bahádur

* Franklin.

Sháh, he had "sent to Delhi with a rope round his neck," he was informed of the seditious predictions of certain "wise men and astrologers," that he would never see Delhi again; "but the king replied by threats against them." Chief among these offenders was the saint Nizám-uddín Aulíá, who had long been at war with Tughlaq Sháh, and who was apparently in league with his son Muhammad Sháh against the king. Tughlaq Sháh, indignant at the defiant attitude of the Saint, ordered him to quit Delhi. "Let me but reach Delhi," said Tughlaq Sháh, "and this fiend priest shall be humbled." When news reached the capital that Tughlaq Sháh was within a few miles of the place, the friends of Nizám-uddín importuned him to leave the city and visit Multan. The Saint, however, was not to be intimidated; he had only one answer to all friendly importunities: *Dehlí dúr ast—Delhi is still far off.**

When Tughlaq Sháh arrived at Afghanpúr, about six miles from his capital, he was accommodated by his son in a temporary wooden palace, built in three days, "where," says Ziá-uddín Barní, the author of *Tarikh-i-Fíroz Sháhí*, "the Sultan might stay for the night and take rest, before marching on the following day into the city with pomp and triumph. The Sultan Tughlaq Sháh arrived in the afternoon and stopped. The Sultan's table had been spread, and he took food; the nobles came out to wash their hands. A thunderbolt from the sky descended upon the earth, and the roof under which the Sultan was seated fell down, crushing him and five or six other persons, so that they died." Ibn Batutá gives the popular account of the death of Tughlaq Sháh, and it is more likely to be true than the story of the "thunderbolt from the sky." After describing the construction of the temporary palace, Batutá goes on to say, that "the object with which it was built was this, that it should fall down with a crash when the elephants touched it in a certain part. The Sultan stopped at this building and feasted the people, who afterwards dispersed. His son asked permission to parade the elephants before him fully accoutred. The Sultan consented. The Sultan's favorite son, Mahmúd, was with the king, when the elephants

* "This," says Mr. Frederick Cooper, "is now a proverb over the East, equivalent to our, '*there is many a slip between the cup and the lip.*' It is probable that the saint had some understanding with the son in his plans and the murder of his father."

passed along that side, the building fell down upon the Sultan and his son Mahmúd. The Sultan's son Muhammad [the heir-apparent] ordered pickaxes and shovels to be brought to dig and seek for his father, but he made signs for them not to hurry, and the tools were not brought till after sunset. Then they began to dig, and they found the Sultan, who had bent over his son to save him from death. Some assert that Tughlaq was taken out dead ; others, on the contrary, maintain that he was alive and that an end was made of him. He was carried away at night to the tomb which he had himself built near the city, called after him Tughlaqábád, and there he was interred. It was to the skilful management of the wazir, Khwája-i-jahán, in constructing the edifice which fell upon him, Tughlaq, that he owed the position he held with Sultan Muhammad, and the partiality which the latter had for him."

There is no longer any doubt as to Muhammad Sháh's complicity in the death of his father; and the testimony of Ibn Batutá is about the best evidence it is possible to have on the subject. Hardly less convincing are the inferences to be drawn from the conduct of Muhammad Sháh and Nizám-uddín Aulhá. The heir-apparent was a devoted admirer of the Saint ; he used to visit Nizám-uddín when the Aulíá was under the influence of ecstatic fits, and it was in one of these inspired moments that he got Nizám-uddín to promise him the throne of Delhi. When Muhammad succeeded his father Ghias-uddín on the throne, he paid the Saint the most profound respect; and when the death of the latter occurred, Muhammad " bore his bier on his shoulder." On the other hand, Nizám-uddín was constantly at war with the late king, and was sometimes in dread of his life. He also knew that Tughlaq Sháh had heard of his prophecy, and that the king would keep his promise to humble the priest. His assurance under the circumstances—expressed in a phrase now household words throughout literate Hindusthan—was the result of implicit confidence in the success of the conspiracy against the life of the king.* Ghias-uddín Tughlaq Sháh died in Rabí'. I. 725 A. H. (1324 A. D.)

* Even Abúl Fazl, the great Minister of Akbar, a profound advocate of accomplished results, while acquitting Muhammad Tughlaq Sháh of being the cause of his father's death, is rather disconcerted by the facts, that the wooden palace should have been put up in such wonderful haste, and that Muhammad Sháh should have pressed his father to occupy it.

Although Ibn Batuta states that Tughlaq Sháh had built his own tomb—as he is supposed to have built one at Multan while governor of that place—the better opinion is that the tomb at Delhi was the work of Muhammad Sháh, and that it was built within a year of his father's death.

We have already described one Dar-ul-aman—*House of rest*—where the great Balban lies buried, but the same honoured appellation was applied to Tughlaq Sháh's tomb and its enclosure. Fíroz Sháh Tughlaq, the grandson of Ghiás-uddín Tughlaq, describes it in the following words : "This is the bed and resting place of great men. I had new sandal wood doors made for it, and over the tombs of these distinguished men I hung curtains and hangings suspended."

The following description of the tomb, I have reproduced from General Cunningham's reports, with occasional addition : it is situated in the midst of an artificial lake, fed by the overflowing of the Hauz Shamsí and by a lot of natural drains which flowed into the base of the fort, and which at one time must have formed one of its natural defences. It is surrounded by a pentagonal outwork, which is connected with the fortress by a causeway 600 feet in length, supported on 27 arches. "In plan, the tomb is a square of 38½ feet interior, and 61½ feet exterior dimensions. The outer walls are 38½ feet in height to the top of the battlement, with a slope of 2·333 per foot. At this rate the whole slope is 7½ feet in 38½ feet. The walls at base are 11⅓ feet thick, and at top only four feet ; but the projecting mouldings of the interior increase the thickness of the wall at the springing of the dome to about 6 or 7 feet or perhaps more, for I had no means of making measurements so high up. The diameter of the dome is about 34 feet inside and about 44 feet outside, with a height of 20 feet ; the dome is of marble, striped with red stone. The whole height of the tomb to the top of the dome is 70 feet, and to the top of the pinnacle [which is made of red stone,] about 80 feet.

"Each of the four sides has a lofty doorway in the middle, 24 feet in height, with a painted horse shoe arch, fretted on the outer edge. There is a small doorway only 5 feet 10 inches in width, but of the same form, in the middle of the great entrances, the archway being filled with a white mar-

ble lattice screen of bold pattern. The decoration of the exterior depends chiefly on difference of colour, which is effected by the free use of bands and borders of white marble on the large sloping surfaces of red stone. The horse shoe arches are of white marble and a broad band of the same goes completely round the building at the springing of the arches. Another broad band of marble in upright slabs, 4 feet in height, goes all round the dome just above its springing. The present effect of this mixture of colours is certainly pleasing, but I believe that much of its beauty is due to the mellowing hand of time, which has softened the crude redness of sandstone as well as the dazzling whiteness of the marble. The building itself is in very good order."*

The entrance to the outwork of the tomb is a high and massive gateway of red sand-stone, which is reached by a flight of 32 steps. There are rooms in the enclosure walls, which were intended, as we are told, "for the accommodation of the poor;" and the angles of the pentagon are supported by towers which are surmounted by pavilions. There is a sort of double tower in the extreme left angle of the gateway, containing graves which have not been identified, but judging from Fíroz Sháh Tughlaq's description of the place, it is by no means unlikely that they were in existence when Sultan Fíroz repaired and adorned the tomb.

Inside the tomb there are three graves: that in the middle is undoubtedly the grave of Tughlaq Sháh, but of the two others, one on either side of it, it is impossible to speak with confidence. The marble monuments which once covered these graves, were either removed or destroyed. One of the two smaller graves is supposed to belong to Makdúm-at-Jahán, the wife of Tughlaq Sháh, and the other to Muhammad Sháh Tughlaq the son, successor, and murderer of Ghiás-uddín Tughlaq Sháh, who died of fever in Sindh in the year 752 A. H. (1351 A. D.)

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* *Archæological Reports.* Vol. I, p. 216.

"When the stern old warrior Tughlaq Sháh (1321) founded the new Delhi, which still bears his name, he built a tomb, not in a garden as was usually the case, but in a strongly fortified citadel in the middle of an artificial lake. The sloping walls and almost Egyptian solidity of this mausoleum, combined with the bold and massive towers of the fortifications that surround it, form a picture of a warrior's tomb unrivalled anywhere, and a singular contrast with the elegant and luxuriant garden tombs of the more settled and peaceful dynasties that succeeded." Fergusson. *History of Architecture.* Vol. II., p. 653.

If it were necessary to establish what, perhaps, is now an admitted position, that the education of Oriental princes never aimed at the formation of character, the career of Muhammad Sháh Tughlaq would be an incontrovertible argument in its favour. Accomplished above all his predecessors in the empire of Delhi; surpassed by none of his successors, so far as we have the means of judging their accomplishments, his knowledge of "arts and sciences" drew the admiraation of men of culture and of students who had made special subjects the study of their lives. But Muhammad Sháh was a wanton, and an unprincipled tyrant; he was cursed with unbridled passions; and his reign of 26 years was remarkable for a series of disasters.* When political troubles and disease put an end to his career at Tatta, the empire was on the brink of dismemberment. His cousin and successor, the amiable but weak prince Fíroz Sháh Tughlaq, who had witnessed with sorrow the cruelties of Muhammad Sháh, adopted a primitive method for the salvation of the deceased king's soul. According to the Muhammadan sacred laws, every offence has a double aspect, viz., in its relation first to God and then to man; in the latter case, a pardon is believed to reduce some portion of its punishment. Actuated by pious and kindly feelings towards his royal cousin, and "under the guidance of the Almighty," Sultan Fíroz Sháh obtained "deeds of satisfaction duly attested by witnesses," from "those who had been deprived of a limb, nose, eye, hand or foot" by his "lord and patron Muhammad Sháh." These records were put into a chest, and buried in the Dar-ul-aman at the head of the tomb of the late Sultan, "in the hope that God, in his great clemency, would show mercy to my late friend and patron, and make those persons reconciled to him."

* Ibn Batuta's description of Muhammad's character, if not very complete, is by no means uninstructive; with other eccentric qualities, Muhammad possessed great "fondness for making presents and shedding blood."

'Adilabad or Muhammadabad.—To the south of Tughlaqábád are its two pendent forts ; the one built on small rocks on its south-eastern corner is known as Muhammadábád, after Muhammad Sháh Tughlaq, or 'Adilábád from *'adil*—just—for it was one of Muhammad's weaknesses to consider himself the ideal of a just man. It is strange to notice that, after giving him the blackest possible character, Ibn Batúta does not hesitate to add, "in spite of this, he is one who exhibits the greatest equity." The fort to the south west of Tughlaqábád is known by such a variety of names as would lead one to suppose that it has the advantage of a periodical change in its nomenclature : by some it is called the Emperor's Fort, by others the Washerman's Fort or the Right Fort.

Both 'Adilábád and the second small fort are miniatures of Tughlaqábád, having been built in the style of the fort of Tughlaq Sháh, with sloping walls, huge blocks of stones, and enclosing both a citadel and a city. The circuit of 'Adilábád does not extend beyond half a mile ; that of the second fort is even less. In both forts the citadel is built on an elevated position, and commands a suburb enclosed by a line of wall. In 'Adilábád the main gateway is also the entrance to the citadel ; the outer wall encloses the "protected suburb" which is to the south of the citadel, here it meets the eastern wall of the citadel, and is connected with Tughlaqábád "by a double wall along the causeway, which crosses the intervening low ground." In the citadel of this fort was the famous palace of Hazár Sathun, the palace with *a thousand pillars*, being the second building of that name ; the first was built by 'Alá-uddín Khiljí on the grounds which were "afterwards the enclosed suburbs known as Jahán-panáh." Syud Ahmed Khán's description of this Palace is hardly correct ; the pillars are said to have been cut out of marble and the building was "not unlikely three-storeyed high." I prefer, however, Ibn Batuta's authority who describes the hall of audience as an immense chamber of "a thousand columns. These pillars are of varnished wood, and support a wooden roof, painted in the most admirable style."

The second fort, though smaller in size, resembles its associated fort in every other respect ; its grounds are covered with the ruins of a citadel and of a bazar or cantonment. These ruins are interspersed with worked fragments of red sandstone.

Jahanpanah—The suburbs of Qil'ah Rái Pithora grew in the reigns of the later Slave Kings of Delhi to be the cause of anxiety to the residents of the Fort and of interest to the Mewáti robbers, who infested them during the weak reign of Kai Qubád. The depredations of this marauding tribe became a matter for the serious consideration of 'Alá-uddín Khiljí when he came to the throne; and with his usual energy he carried fire and sword into the country of Mewát. "Girls at the well, and water carriers at the Hauz, were constantly assaulted by these robbers and stripped of all their clothing, so that it was necessary for the gates of the city to be carefully guarded after the evening prayer." When the Moghals invaded Delhi, the outskirts of the city suffered heavily; and after 'Alá-uddín Khiljí had founded Sírí, the suburbs of Qil'ah Rái Pithora spread still further in a south-easterly direction, till the opposite boundaries of the two cities became conterminous, and the villages of Hauz Ráni, Tútí Sarai and Khirki formed the more important links of the connecting chain. It then occurred to Muhammad Sháh Tughlaq to enclose the whole of the suburbs lying between Old Delhi and Sírí—not more for the purpose of protecting them against Moghals and Mewátis than to perpetuate his name as the founder of a new city. In 728 A. H. (1327 A. D.) this task was accomplished, and the cities of Old Delhi and Sírí were united by two lines of fortifications. The wall on the north-west is about 2 miles in length, and those on the east and south are two miles and a quarter long, the whole length of the three walls being about 5 miles. The north eastern wall is irregular and in ruins; so is the best part of the eastern wall, which, however, is perfectly straight; the southern wall which was also built in a straight line has more than a third of it in ruins.

There were thirteen gates in the new city of Jahánpanáh—exclusive of those which belonged in common to Old Delhi and Sírí. Of these thirteen gates, six were on the north-west, and one of these is named by native historians the gate of the Maidán (plain), and according to Yazdí it "opened towards Hauz Khás;" it was also called the gate of Hauz Khás;* the rest of the gates were on the south-east;

* *Tarikh-i-Mubarak Shahi.*

two of the latter are known to history as the Hauz Ráni and the Baráka gates. Within this new enclosure was a famous tower known as Bíjí or Bedi Manzal, of which a description is given further on.

Ibn Batuta describes Jahánpanáh as "specially designed for the residence of the reigning Sultan of India, Muhammad Shah; he built it, and it was his intention to connect all these four cities. (Old Delhi, Sírí, Jahánpanáh and Tughlaqábád) together by one and the same wall. He raised a portion of it, but abandoned its completion, in consequence of the enormous expense its erection would have entailed."*

Biji Mandal or Bedi Manzal.—As I have already remarked, General Cunningham seems to be in error when he places the ruins of this tower in Tughlaqábád : unless, indeed,

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* After describing Jahanpanah as the seventh fort of Delhi, General Cunningham proceeds to account for "the pithy [native] description of *sat-kila bawan Darwaza* or seven forts and 52 gates" which then comprised Delhi. He enumerates the seven forts as follows :—

"1. Lalkot.
2. Rai Pithora.
3. Siri or Kila Alai.
4. Tughlaqabad.
5. Citadel of Tughlaqabad.
6. Adilabad.
7. Jahanpanah."

He makes up the "52 gates" by allotting

3 to Lalkot,
10 to Rai Pithora's fort.
7 to Siri.
23 to Jahanpanah.
13 to Tughlaqabad.
3 to citadel of Tughlaqabad.
2 to 'Adilabad.

52 Total number of gates.

The natives, however, regard their familiar phrase "*Sat Kila Bawan Darwaza*" as more suggestive of the grandeur of Old Delhi, than a description of the then existing state of that city. Similar phrases, which have had currency elsewhere, make me believe that the popular explanation of this description is correct. Besides, both Finch and de Laet give Delhi "nine" instead of "seven forts," and this I suppose was probably the case, for General Cunningham has left out of his list both Kilokheri and Ghiáspúr, which the natives believe were fortified cities, and has included Lalkot of which they appear to know nothing.

Again, native historians allot "52 gates and 56 bastions" to Tughlaqabad alone, but although I have rejected this account and preferred that of General Cunningham, which gives only 16 gates to the city and Fort of Tughlaq Sháb, I see no reason why he should not include in his account the second small fort near Tughlaqábád, as one of the Forts of Delhi, and its gates as some of the gates of that city.

by *Birij Mandir* he refers to some building, the history of which I have not been able to ascertain.* 'Abdul Haq Muhaddís, a man of considerable reputation as a philosopher and divine in the reigns of Akbar and Jahángír, the author of *Akhbár-ul-Akhíar*,—a history of Muhammadan saints,—who lived in Delhi, and died there in the year 1052 A. H. (1642 A. D.) describes Bíjí Mandal as a tower of Jahánpanáh, and states that Shaikh Hasan Táher, a pious man who visited Delhi in the reign of Sekandar Lodí, resided here by the order of the king. When Táher died in 909 A. H. (1503 A. D.), he was buried outside this tower in Jahánpanáh ; and the group of graves in its neighbourhood belongs to members of his family who settled in Delhi.

The tower stands on a high mound, faced with stone and masonry, about 83 feet from the ground, with steps leading to its top ; the steps and the masonry sides of the mound have suffered much from the effects of time. This terrace is surmounted by a roofless octagonal room over which, Syud Ahmed Khan is of opinion, though I have not been able to satisfy myself of its correctness, there was a twelve-doored room whence the king reviewed his troops. The room now in existence has four doors ; it is built of stone and masonry, and the corners are protected with red sandstone. It is 20 feet high and about 38 feet square ; the walls slope downward to the base, where they gain in width about 4 feet in a height of 20 feet.

Not far from the grounds of this tower is a domed pavilion, about 37 feet high and 50 feet square. It is built of stone and masonry, and is in very fair order.

There is a wall-mosque close to the grave-yard. The whole place has an air of desolation which its neighbourhood to the village of Begampúr has not changed. I cannot quite understand the object of a building like the tower of Bíjí Mandal, and Syud Ahmed Khán gives us no authority for his opinion that it was used as a royal stand on gala occasions.

Sathpalah—This bund for regulating the force of a stream which ran through Jahánpanáh was built in the eastern

* *Archæological Reports*, Vol. I, page 213.

wall of that city by Muhammad Sháh Tughlaq, in the year 727 A. H. (1326 A. D.). The bund consists of seven stone and masonry arches about 38 feet high; the three centre arches are 11 feet, and the rest are 9 feet wide; the bund itself is 177 feet long and each of its two flanking towers is 39 feet wide, which together gives the whole building a width of 255 feet.

The towers have the appearance of Pathan gateways; they are 39 feet wide, 47 feet long, and a little over 20 feet high; there is a small octagonal room in each corner of the tower, and between these rooms there is an arched recess, the arch in the eastern wall has a 7 feet wide entrance in its centre. This door is covered by a gateway, about 16 feet wide with arched recesses in its side walls. Each of the towers on the corners of the bund, has a level piece of ground in front. about 57 feet square. This is the level of the top of the bund, and it is about 64 feet from the level of the ground. Over the seven arches of the bund there are seven other arches which are 14 feet high and 11 feet wide.

Almost on a level with the ground and on either side of the bund, there are arched openings which contain steps leading to the top of the building.

Tri-weekly fairs are held here in the month of October, viz., on Sundays, Tuesdays, and Saturdays, till the celebration of the festival of Dewalí.

The tomb of Nizam-uddin Aulia.—There were Muhammadan saints in India who are still reckoned as superior to Nizám-uddín in piety and in "the secret knowledge of the future"; but none equalled him in the hold he acquired on such varied classes of his co-religionists. Of his own fraternity, the well known Chistís, there are three names before whom royalty has humbled itself, and which still hold a place in the daily thoughts and feelings of thousands of believers. The first being that of M'uín-uddín, the founder of the Chistí sect in India, who has made the place of his burial famous as the "Sacred Ajmer;" then comes that of his friend and successor, Qutb Sáhib, who has given his name to all that is interesting in the ruins of Mahraulí and its environs; and the third, but not the least, that of

the disciple of Qutb Sáhib and a worker of miracles, the famous Farid-uddín Shakr Ganj of Pák Patan, who conferred the gift of divination on Shaikh Nizám-uddín Aulíá. Last, but in many respects the greatest, of the more renowned Chistí saints was Nizám-uddín, who combined the piety of a saint with what, in those days, was considered the wisdom of a politician. His knowledge of human nature was not derived from the study of books; it was the result of experiences of human life acquired under favorable circumstances. This experience earned for him many a dubious compliment; from some of possessing a knowledge of sorcery, and from others of being a member of the Secret Society of the Assassins of Khorasan, while, according to Colonel Sleeman, at times a somewhat precipitate thinker, he was the organiser of Thaggism in India. He had the advantage of being all things to all men; he was the friend of 'Alá-uddín Khiljí and Muhammad Sháh Tughlaq, both of whom succeeded to the throne of Delhi; the first after the murder of his uncle, and the second after that of his father. He appears to have learnt in one of his ecstatic fits the exact time of the death of Jalál-uddín Firoz Sháh Khiljí, and declared it to his bewildered disciples when it occurred at Manikpúr; of the death of Tughlaq Sháh, he also seems to have acquired a prophetic knowledge, and he gave his friends to understand that the King would never see Delhi again; this prophecy came to pass, and the King was killed at Afghanpúr within four miles of Tughlaqábád. In 703 A. H. (1303 A. D.) when the Moghals invaded the territories of 'Alá-uddín Khiljí, the prayers of Nizám-uddín dispersed them; it is generally believed, however, that his emissaries had assassinated the Moghal chiefs in their tents.

Among his less noble but perhaps more valued friends, Nizám-uddín reckoned the well-known recluse Sayyad Mahmúd Behár, the renowned saint Chirágh Delhi, and the courtly and gifted poet Khusrau. While living, he drew the pious allegiance of eager multitudes, and after his death, down to the very date of our description, pilgrimages are made to his tomb from all parts of India, and miracles are still worked there for the believing.*

* One of the Amirs of the Court of Akbar, Husain-uddín, suddenly changed his mind "and though a young man, he expressed to the commander his wish to resign the service, and live as faqir at the tomb of Nizám-uddín Aulíá in Delhi. Akbar permitted his resignation. Husain lived for thirty years as an ascetic in Delhi." Blochmann's *Ain-i-Akbarí*, Vol. I, p. 441.

When Nizám-uddín first arrived in Delhi, he settled in the then well-known village of Ghiáspúr; his house is still in a very fair state of preservation, and forms part of the south-eastern enclosure wall of the tomb Humáyún.

Nizám-uddín was born in the year 633 A. H. (1232 A. D.) and died at sunrise on Wednesday, the 18th of Rabi'. II. in the year 725 A. H. (1324 A. D.). Ibn Batuta calls him Nizám-uddín Badáoní, and states that he was often visited by Muhammad Sháh Tughlaq, and that the saint "in one of his inspired fits gave him the throne of Delhi."

Nizám-uddín was buried in the small enclosed village which bears his name, near the Chabutráh Yárání, *the platform of friends,* where he used to discourse with his disciples, and friend, and where the ashes of Amír Khusrau, one whom he loved best, share with him the sacred ground. Since it was honoured with the bones of this holy man, the little village has been selected as the last resting place of an Emperor, who had tasted most of the adversities which accompany a crown; of generals not unknown to glory even when success was won only under the royal prestige; of queens, princes and princesses not more known to fame than to misfortune. While silence surrounds the graves of the men and women of quality, the tomb of the saint, who is suspected of complicity in at least one murder, is attended by pious men who chaunt sacred hymns and read holy books within its venerated walls.

The village of Nizám-uddín is within five miles of Modern Delhi; it is entered by a lofty stone and masonry gateway, on either side of which there are rooms now occupied as a school. On the right of the visitor, as he enters the village, is the mausoleum known as the *Chausat Khambah*; further on, still on his right, are the graves of the queens, the daughters and nieces of Akbar II. Turning to his left, the visitor arrives at a low gateway through which he enters a stone paved enclosure about 60 feet square; on his left, is a room now occupied as a school with a grave in it, and on his right is the tomb of Khusrau. On the north of this court is another walled enclosure, paved with marble, which contains the tomb of Nizám-uddín. This enclosure is

about 48½ yards long and 19½ yards broad, and within its walls are the graves of Jahánárá Begam, Muhammad Sháh and Mírzá Jahángír, and the mosque known as Jamáa'th Khanah. It is entered by a small square door in its northern wall; about 20 yards from this is the tomb of Nizám-uddín which is about 30 feet square, with five arched openings on each side, supported by 20 marble pillars. A six feet wide verandah surrounds the room which contains the grave; this room is 18 feet square, has only one door, and its sides admit light through windows of marble lattice work, the frames of which are made of red stone. The pavement round the grave is of marble; the arched openings of the verandahs are protected by deep sandstone ledges or weathering, and are covered with red cotton *pardahs*, while the windows of the room are covered with *pardahs* of red-cloth. The tomb is surmounted by a white marble dome ornamented with vertical stripes of black marble, and a copper gilt pinnacle; on the four corners of the tomb there are small marble dome pavilions with pinnacles of the same materials. Between these pavilions the roof is protected by a parapet wall which consists of solid masonry domes, about 20 inches high, with small gilt pinnacles; underneath these domes are small arcades, the open spaces being about 20 inches high; the domes and the arcades together stand on a dwarf wall about 2 feet high, the three together forming a wall about 6 feet high and 18 feet from the ground.

On a cloudy day the light in the room is not sufficient to shew the walls and the grave to advantage. At the head of the grave the wall contains three screens of marble lattice work, the centre screen being larger than those on its sides; in the centre of the western wall there is an arched recess ornamented with gilt work which officiates for the ordinary wall-mosque, and on either side of it light and air are admitted through a lattice screen. In the eastern wall there are three such screens, the centre one being larger than those on its sides. In the centre of the southern wall is a door which admits the visitor into the room, and on either side of it there is a marble screen.

A cotton canopy hangs over the grave, and plated glass balls are suspended round it as ornaments. The grave is

enclosed by a wooden railing, about 2 feet high and about 3 feet from the walls of the room ; at the corners of this railing are wooden staves, about 10 feet high, which support the canopy already described. The canopy is about 7 feet wide and about 10 feet long, and is lined with red cloth printed with gold.

At the head of the grave a Qoran is kept open on a stool, and behind this is a slab of marble let into the latticed screen which bears an inscription in embossed gilt letters. The inner pillars of the room are made of red stone ; and the inner face of the lattice screens are ornamented with gold and colour.

The history of the tomb may be thus shortly told. The grave was originally in a room with walls of lattice work surmounted by a masonry dome ; Fíroz Sháh Tughlaq ornamented the inside of the tomb : "I also repaired the doors of the dome and the lattice work of the tomb of Shaikh-ul-Islám Nizám-ul-haqwa-dín, which were made of sandal wood. I hung up the golden cups with chains of gold in the four recesses of the dome, and I built a meeting room, for before this there was none."* In 970 A. H. (1562 A. D.) Sayyad Faríd Khán put up the marble screens under the dome, and a marble slab, with an inscription containing a chronogram, at the head of the grave† In the reign of Jahangír (1017 A. H. 1608 A.D.) Faríd Khan, better known as Murtazá Khán, made an offering to the grave of a curtain inlaid with mother-o'-pearl

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* *Futúhát-i-Fíroz Sháhí.*

† English translation of the inscription :—
There is no God but God, and Muhammad is his prophet.
[God be] praised ! this mausoleum of the Lord, [Nizám-uddín] who listens to the prayers of all—
He resolved to build [who is] a Khán of the dignity of the sky ;
The glory of the Sun of [noble] descent, the star of the height of honour ;
A Sayyad of exalted blood [and] a lord of the firmament of respectability ;
The cause of this [mausoleum] was a Háshmí [a Sayyad, i. e., Nizám-uddín], the builder of it was [also] a Háshmí ;
He in whose age [the beauties of] the language acquired strength.
When to [discover] the date of this building I turned my thought,
The pen of knowledge wrote : The lord of all, (Qablágahe khás-o-'am)
O Faredún turn your face to his mausoleum with truth [in your heart]
That by the mercies of the Saint your ways may be right.
Writer : Hosen Ahmad Chisti.

which also contained an inscription.* In 1063 A. H. (1652 A. D.) Khalíl-ullah Khán, a noble of the Court of Sháh Jahán, built a verandah of red sand-stone pillars round the grave and put up inscriptions over two of its arches.†

In 1169 A. H. (1755 A. D.) Alamgir II. put up inscriptions on marble inside the dome; in 1223 A. H. (1808 A. D.) Nawab Ahmad Baksh Khán of Fírozpúr, replaced the red sand-stone pillars of the verandah with pillars of marble; in 1236 A. H. (1820 A. D.) Faiz-ullah Khán Bangash covered the ceiling of the verandah with copper gilt and ornamented it with blue enamel. In the year 1239 A. H. (1823 A. D.) Akbar II. removed the masonry dome and replaced it with one of marble, topped with a copper gilt pinnacle.

The anniversary of the death of Nizám-uddín and the first day of spring are observed here with great pomp and ceremony.

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* English translation of the inscription :—

The Shaikh of Delhi, Nizám [uddín] and two Faríds,
Who made for him all that [is required] in this world and in the next;
One Farid [Khán] gave him [a] transitory building,
The other Farid [Shakr-ganj] made for [him] an everlasting residence;
Murtazá Khán, over his grave,
Built a dome [lofty] as the sky.
A blue cloud rose from the earth,
And a peerless pear [it] dropt into the [oyster] shell.
On the earth his square built Ká'bah
Has thrown open four doors [for worship] on its four sides;
The roof over his sacred grave
Has done for the earth the work of a high firmament;
The sky itself, within its four walls,
Four times spontaneously repeated the *takbír* [God is great].
Who ever turned his face away from his house [the grave],
Has turned his back on the Great Kábah;
Who ever in devotion has turned his face towards it,
Has made his face as clear as a clear glass;
If you are the sweeper of this house,
You may do the work of a hundred Messiahs.
When I searched for the date of this building,
Thought put [into my heart the words]: The dome of the Shaikh.
May the honour of the builder of this tomb be increased.
By him who built the seven green terraces [of Heaven.]

† In the reign of the Exalted Majesty, Sáhib Qirán Sání [Sháh Jahán.]
The worst of men, Khalíl-ullah Khán, son of the noble [and], of [the blood of] Hasan, N'amath-aláhí
"Governor of Shájahanábád; in the year 1063 [A. H.] this building was erected round this glorious mausoleum."

The Tomb of Jahanara Begam.—Within the court of Nizám-uddín's tomb there are three marble monuments, each enclosed by four walls of marble screens. The monument near the gate-way is that of Mírzá Jahángír, a prince of royal blood; opposite to it is that of Muhammad Sháh, emperor of Delhi; and on its rear is that of Jahánárá Begam, the favorite daughter of Sháh Jahán. Jahánárá, Muhammad Sháh, and Mírzá Jahángír illustrate three different epochs in the history of the Moghal dynasty: Jahánárá saw the Moghal empire in the zenith of its glory, and when she was gathered unto her fathers, its decline had set in; in the reign of Muhammad Sháh, the invasion of India by Nádir Sháh sealed the fate of Moghal ascendancy in India; and when Mírzá Jahángír took part in the public affairs of the king of Delhi, the authority of the king was exercised under a protectorate, its glories had departed, and the titular empire was precipitating to its disgraceful close.

The events of Jahánárá's life, such as they are, have suffered on the one hand from sentiment which adorns her "with every virtue that a woman possesses;" and on the other by the court-tattle of Bernier which I need not repeat here. Enough, however, is known of her life to attach a melancholy interest to the grave of the unfortunate Princess. When Aurangzeb practically deposed his father, after defeating his eldest brother, Dárá Sheko, his two sisters, Jahánárá and Rushanárá, divided their sympathies between their ill-fated father and their successful brother. Aurangzeb detained Sháh Jahán a prisoner at Agra, and Jahánárá shared with her father his life-long captivity; on the other hand, Rushanárá was staunch to the cause of Aurangzeb; she advised him to avoid the court of Sháh Jahán, advocated the capital punishment of her captive brother, Dárá Sheko, and shared with her more fortunate brother his long term of success. Jahánárá was remarkable for wit and beauty, as well as for those gentler qualities which in a woman recommend themselves to the regard and respect of the sterner sex. She hated Aurangzeb with all the energy of a warm nature, and she seldom failed to give expression to her feelings. Aurangzeb resented the insult, and partially disestablished some of her religious endowments. Sháh Jahan died in 1076 A. H. (1665 A. D.); five years later

died Rushanárá; and sixteen years after the death of her father, Jahánárá died in Delhi (1092 A.H., 1681 A. D.). It is doubtful whether she left Agra by the order of Aurangzeb or of her own accord; but with some writers, Aurangzeb's unpopularity is sufficient to suggest a cause which would blacken his character.

Jahánárá built her tomb in her life time; her grave is covered by a casket-shaped marble monument, familiar to English tourists. It is ornamented with embossed traceries; "and is hollow at the top and exposed to the sky—the hollow is filled with earth covered with green grass." The grave is inside an enclosure of four marble walls, about 16 feet by 12 feet, and over 8 feet high; there is only one entrance to the enclosure, and the folds of the door are made of wood. Each of the walls consists of three panels, covered with marble screens of lattice work; the wall containing the door has only two panels, the door itself occupying the place of the centre one. The top of the walls is ornamented with a perforated marble balustrade, but of this ornament only a small piece is left on one of the walls. The four angles of the enclosure were surmounted by small marble minarets, out of which two are down and only two in existence.

The grave of Jahánárá is in the centre of the small marble court; at its head is a narrow slab of marble about 6 feet high, which bears an inscription which English travellers have invariably misrepresented in some important particular. The monument bears no inscription; the inscription is on the headstone and is inlaid with letters of black marble. The inscription, some verses of which are believed to have been written by the Begam herself, is to the following effect: "Let nothing but the green [grass] conceal my grave. The grass is the best covering for the tombs of the poor in spirit; the humble, the transitory Jahánárá, the disciple of the holy men of Chist; the daughter of the Emperor Sháh Jahán; may God illuminate his intentions. In the year 1093."

On the right of the grave of Jahánárá is that of Mírza Nílí, the son of the Emperor Sháh 'Alam, and on its left that of Jamál-ul-nissa, the daughter of Akbar II.

The Tomb of Muhammad Shah.—Few reigns have proved so disastrous to the Moghal Empire in India as that of Muhammad Sháh, and the decline which had set in on the death of Aurangzeb, reached its climax in the reign of this emperor. Muhammad Sháh ascended the throne amidst the troubles of a wide spread rebellion: feudatories threw off their allegiance; fresh disturbances arose where even a murmur of discontent had not been heard before, but the crowning calamity came with the invasion of India by Nádir Sháh. Even the semblance of suzerainty was now destroyed, and the massacre of Delhi announced to the Indian world the political death of the Moghal empire. Muhammad Sháh acknowledged the independence of more successful rebels than had fallen to the lot of any of his predecessors; but his greatest affliction was to accompany Nádir Sháh to his capital, to practise forced hospitality to a hated guest, and after witnessing the massacre of Delhi to accept at the hands of his ruthless conqueror the sad satisfaction, that "the city was spared for the sake of Prince Muhammad." Hardly less galling to his pride was it to amuse his unwelcome guest with slavish attention, to give a daughter in marriage to his son, to recite poetry in his presence, and regret the departure which he could not hasten. Muhammad Sháh survived this, the greatest disaster of his reign, fully eight years, and after his death, his remains were brought to the village of Nizám-uddín that they may rest close to those of the saint.

The marble enclosure of this tomb is an oblong of 20 feet by 16 feet; the walls are a little over 8 feet high and its four corners are ornamented with small marble minarets; the door and the panel opposite to it are also surmounted with the same style of ornament. The walls consist of panels of marble lattice work, and in the middle panel of the front wall is the door with folds of marble. The long sides of the enclosure have five and the short sides have three panels each; the screens are 5 feet long and 4 feet wide.

The large grave within the enclosure is that of the Emperor Muhammad Sháh; on its right is the grave of his wife, Nawáb Sáhibah Mahal, and at the foot of the latter is that of the wife of Nádir Sháh's son, and on its right that of her infant daughter.

Two unknown princes of the Timur dynasty rest beside their better known but more unfortunate relatives.

This tomb was built in the life time of Muhammad Sháh.

The Tomb of Mirza Jahangir.—The third marble enclosure contains the grave of Mírzá Jahángír, the son of Akbar II; a dissipated and turbulent youth, who was long treated with extreme indulgence by our Government, but whose overt act of rebellion in 1808 rendered his removal to Allahabad a matter of urgent necessity. This enclosure is about 4½ feet from the ground; it is an oblong of 20 feet by 16 feet, and is reached by a flight of four marble steps. It is entered through a marble door, the marble folds of which are covered with exquisitely worked fancy patterns. In the wall opposite to the door is a corresponding opening. On the corners of the enclosure, and on either side of the doors, are small marble minarets. There are four graves within this tomb; the one nearest to the wall is that of Prince Bábar; next to this grave is that of Mírza Jahángír, the monument over which is decorated with leaves and flowers beautifully chiselled. The monument, as may be noticed by anybody accustomed to such memorials, belonged to the grave of a woman, but it was put over the remains of the Prince on a dispensation being granted for the purpose by Muhammadan lawyers. Jahángír died at Allahabad; his body was removed to Delhi and buried here in the year 1248 A. H. (1832 A D.) by Nawáb Mumtáz Mahal, the mother of Jahángír, who built this tomb over it.

Jama'ath Khanah, or the Mosque of Nizam-uddin.—Almost the whole of the western side of the enclosure of Nizám-uddín's tomb, is formed by the Masjid known as Jamá'ath Khánah. It was built by Fíroz Sháh Tughlaq and probably in the year 754 A. H. (1353 A. D.) as stated by Syud Ahmed Khán. It is a fine specimen of the "severe style" of Pathan architecture of which the number, round and about Delhi, is not small. The mosque, which is built throughout of red sand-stone, is about 94 feet long, 64 feet wide, and

about 48 feet high : 36 feet to the top of the roof and 12 feet more to the top of the centre dome. The side domes are 6 feet from the roof of the mosque. The body of the mosque consists of three rooms ; the centre room, which supports a low dome about 52 feet in diameter, is about 54 feet long from E. to W., and 46 feet broad from N. to S. ; the side rooms, which are covered with two domes each, are about 54 feet long from E. to W., and 20 feet broad from N. to S. The domes are built of stone and masonry, and are covered with plaster, the inside being faced with red sand-stone. The centre room of the mosque is entered through an arched gateway about 15 feet high ; from the floor about two-thirds of the entrances of the side rooms are covered with red sand-stone lattice screens, in the centre of which are the doors. The main entrance to the mosque is differently constructed ; the recessed arch itself is covered with a screen of red sand-stone lattice work containing a wide door-way. On either side of this door is an arched window covered with stone lattice work, which admits light and air into the rooms of the mosque ; to the right of the southern window is an inscription which gives the date of Nizám-uddín's death ; but it is comparatively modern and possesses no historical value. The roof of the mosque is protected by spear head stone ornaments instead of the more common battlemented parapet.

Three lofty arched recesses in the inner western wall of the building point to the sacred side to which prayers are offered ; they are built entirely of red sand-stone ; the pulpit stands between the centre arch and the arch on its left. The bands round the arches are ornamented with inscriptions from the Qorán. From the centre of the middle dome hangs an inverted cup held by a thin chain. The cup is supposed to be made of gold, but for this statement I am unable to vouch.

The Spring or Baoli of Nizam-uddin.—Walking out of the enclosure of Nizám-uddín's tomb through a door in its northern wall, the visitor enters another enclosure within which this spring is situated. The building of this Báolí was the cause of the troubles of Nizám-uddín with Ghiás-

uddín Tughlaq Sháh. While the Emperor was forcing on the works of his fort, the saint was providing pure water for his neighbours. The Emperor having prohibited the workmen from going to Nizam-uddín during the day, they worked for him at night; the Emperor then prohibited the sale of oil to Nizám-uddín, but the workmen found water answer their purpose equally well. Nizám-uddín went with his complaint to another local worthy: Sayyad Mahmúd Behár. The Sayyad listened to Nizám-uddín as he worked away at a mud-wall which he was then building. Angered by the story of persecution he had heard, Mahmúd Behár levelled the mud-wall to the ground, exclaiming at the same time: "I have destroyed his Empire."

The spring was finished in the year 721 A. H. (1321 A. D.), and Nizám-uddín "blessed its water and it is still supposed to work wonderful cures." The spring is about 180 feet long and 120 feet wide; it is enclosed by heavy and lofty stone and mortar walls on the south, east and west; the steps being on the north. These steps are supposed to go down to the very bottom of the spring, but very seldom more than 40 of them are above the water. On the walls of the spring, buildings have been constructed at different times; on its southern and eastern sides there are low and narrow arcaded passages and rooms. In the year 781 A. H. (1379 A. D.) Muhammad Marúf, son of Wahíd-uddín, built the southern arcade. On the west of the spring are certain tombs; from the tops of the surrounding buildings, trained swimmers plunge into the water of the spring—a drop fully of 60 feet—for a small consideration.

The Tomb of Amir Khusrau.—Abúl Hasan, better known by his *nom de plume* of Amir Khusrau, by far the greatest Muhammadan poet of India, lies buried within a few paces of the grave of the friend he loved best. In the outer enclosure of Nizám-uddín's tomb is the last resting place of the most cherished of his disciples: the "Peerless" Khusrau, the "sugar-tongued Parrot," * the favorite of Kings, the friend of pious men and philosophers, and the admiration of his contemporaries. Although the

* So called in an inscription outside his tomb.

shadow of four hundred years surrounds his tomb, "his popular songs are still the most popular ; and he is one of the favored few who live through ages in the every day thoughts and feelings of many millions."*

Khusrau was born in India but of Turki parents, and while yet a boy he became a disciple of the saint Nizam-uddín Aulíá. He entered the service of Sultan Balban as an attendant on his son, then Governor of Multan. On the Khiljís coming to power, Sultan Jalál-uddín Fíroz Sháh appointed Khusrau an Amír of his Court, and Khusrau continued to enjoy the favor and confidence of his successors till the overthrow of the Khiljís, and the rise of the Tughlaqs. Although bitterly hostile to Nizám-uddín and the Chistí fraternity, Ghiás-uddín Tughlaq Shah extended his patronage to Khusrau, and conferred on him honors and emoluments which must have amused his persecuted master. When Muhammad Sháh snceeded to the throne of Delhi, Khusrau's good fortune rose higher than ever. The King was lavish in his attentions to Khusrau; he put Khusrau in charge of the royal library and took him to Bengal as a favorite companion. While present with the Court at Lakhnautí, Khusrau heard of the death of Nizám-uddín at Delhi ; this news struck him down; he sold all he had, and travelled to Delhi in a state of great mental distraction. On his arrival there his friends, among whom the most notable was the famous Nasír-uddín Chiragh Delhi, tried to console him, but Khusrau gave himself up to despair. It is related that he robed himself in a suit of black, and for six long months he sat beside and watched the grave of Nizám-uddín, until the morning of the 29th of Ziqád, 725 A. H. (1324 A. D.) when death released him from all his troubles.

His friends, remembering the often expressed wish of the Aulíá that Khusrau should be buried beside him, proposed to carry it out, and a place was appointed for the purpose on the right of Nizám-uddín's grave. It so happened, however, that among the Amírs then in power at Delhi was a eunuch, a disciple of Nizám-uddín, who resented the intended burial of Khusrau in such close proximity to the grave of the Aulíá as an insult to the memory of the saint. Khusrau was, therefore, buried in the Chabutráh Yárání, where Nizám-uddín used to converse with his friends and favorite disciples.

* Sleeman.

The enclosure of Khusrau's tomb is 111 feet long and 51 feet broad, and is paved throughout with red sand-stone. The grave and the wooden railing round it were built in 937 A. H. (1530 A. D.) by Syyad Mehdí who also put up a head-stone of marble outside the tomb, about 8 feet long and 1 foot wide, with an inscription on it in embossed letters.* The grave, which is kept covered with gold printed cloth is 8 feet long, 3 feet broad, 1 foot high; at the foot of the grave is buried Khusrau's nephew, the son of a sister. The present tomb was built in 1014 A. H. (1605 A. D.) by 'Amád-uddín Hasan in the reign of Jahángír and this date occurs in an inscription under the dome and over the red sand-stone screens.† The outer room of the tomb is 30 feet long and

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* English translation of the inscription :—

There is no other God but God, and Muhammad is his Prophet.
This tablet conferred honour on Earth,
In the reign of the Emperor Bábar, Ghází.
Mír Khusrau, King of the kingdom of words ;
The limits of [all] knowledge and the river of plenty ;
His prose draws the heart of men, even more than the water of Eden ;
His poetry is clearer than the purest [of pure] water ;
[He is] Better than the Bulbul, the singer of thousand songs ;
[A] Parrot, sugar tongued [and] unequalled.
[To learn] the date of his death
I put my head on the knees of thought ;
One date [occurs] in [the word] *Peerless* ;
The other in, *Parrot Sugar-tongued* !
The tablet of my dust-made body does not bear the record of [a] meeting with my beloved.
My unwritten tablet is the sign of my love [which is yet] pure.
Mehdí Khwájah is a Sayyad of power and dignity,
[And) the founder of this unequalled and unapproached [edifice.]
To [the question] that was put [to me] regarding the date of the foundation of this [tomb]
I said : [this is due to] the great energy of Mehdí Khwájah.
" The sweet drink of love is in your cup,
Your friend is constantly sending messages to you.
The line of Faríd [Shakr Ganj] is arranged by you,
And hence you are called Nizám. *(a)*
Immortal is thy servant Khusrau,
Because he is a thousand times your slave."
My name is pure, O great Khwájah,
[It consists of] two *shins*, two *láms*, two *qáfs*, two *jims* *(b)*
If you can discover my name in these letters,
I will regard you as a man of wisdom.
The writer of the above is the grandson of Shaikh Farid Shakr Ganj.

† English translation of the inscription :—

O Khusrau, thou art peerless among men !
I am a supplicant at your tomb,

(a) The arranger.

(b) Two *shins* are equal to a *khe*, two *lams* to a *sin*, two *qafs* to a *re* ; two *jims* to a *wau* ; the second letters in Persian spell Khusrau.

22 feet broad ; the inner room is an oblong of 15 feet by 12 feet ; on each of its four sides, there are three windows covered with screens of marble lattice work with the exception of the centre panel of the northern wall in which a slab of marble is put. In the centre of the southern wall is the door-way, about 5½ feet high and 3 feet wide. The roof of the tomb is surmounted by a bier-shaped dome of stone and mortar, with a masonry pinnacle at each end.

The tomb of Khusrau is tenderly cared for by the people of Nizám-uddín, and although the Qorán is not read here as in the tomb of the Aulíá, the grave of the poet is approached with much reverence, and offerings are made to it by the pious.

The anniversary of the death of Khusrau, and the 5th day of Basanth (spring) are celebrated here by large gatherings of people from Delhi, and the neighbouring villages.

The tomb of 'Azam Khan—On the south-east of Nizám-uddín's tomb is the mausoleum of Shams-uddín Muhammad, surnamed Atgah Khán, who received the title of 'Azam Khán from Akbar on the occasion of his victory over Bairám Khán near Jullunder. He was present with the Moghal army when Humáyún was defeated by the Pathans at Kanauj (947 A.H.) and helped the Emperor in his flight from the field of battle. Humáyún rewarded Shams-uddín, and appointed his wife wet-nurse to Prince Akbar. When the Moghals recovered Delhi from the Sur Kings, Shams-uddín received the title of Atgah (foster-father) Khán. After Bairám Khán's fall, Atgah Khán was appointed Governor of the Punjab ; after a short stay

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Which was built by Táher ;
Eternal blessing is found here !
The date of its foundation was given by wisdom :
Say to the tomb, It is a place of secrets.
The author of this writing and the founder of this building, Táher, Muhammad 'Amád-uddín Hasan, son of Sultan'Ali Sabzwárí, Hijrí 1014.
May God forgive him his sins and conceal his faults.
Engraver : Abdul Nabí, son of Hí-rib.
O God ! O God !
Núr-uddín Muhammad, in the reign of the Emperor, Protector of mankind, Abul Muzaffar Badshah-i-Adil Jahángír Ghází. May God perpetuate his kingdom and his reign, and extend over mankind his peace and benevolence.

at Lahore, he returned to Agra and acted as the Vakil or Chancellor of the Empire, superseding M'unim Khán, a minister of vast experience and one of the most influential nobles of the Court of Akbar. At the instigation of M'unim Khán, the Atgah was assassinated by Adham Khán, a brave but turbulent man, who had more than once incurred the displeasure of Akbar. On the 12th of Ramzán 969 [A. H.] (1566 A. D.) when M'unim Khán, Atgah Khán, and several other grandees, were transacting business at night in the state hall of the Palace at Agra, Adham Khán attended by some followers suddenly entered the room. All rose to greet him, when Adham Khán struck the Atgah with his dagger, and told one of his companions to dispatch him with his sword. Adham Khán was killed by the order of Akbar for the murder of his foster-father. The body of Atgah Khán was removed to Delhi and buried in the village of Nizám-uddín within 20 yards of the tomb of the Auliá. In the year 974 A. H. (1566 A. D.) a tomb was built over the remains of Atgah Khán by his second son, Mírzá Azíz Kukaltásh Khán. The following inscription on marble is put over the door of the tomb:—"This noble edifice was finished in the year 974 [A. H.] under the superintendence of Ustád Ahmad Qulí."

Although small in size, as regards the general effect of the colours used in its decoration, it is one of the prettiest tombs in Delhi; but it is little known to European travellers, and, so far as I am aware of, has never been noticed by any of them. The tomb is about 30 feet square; from the floor to the top of the roof it is 30 feet high, and from the top of the roof to the top of the dome 24 feet more, thus giving the whole building a height of 54 feet. The four sides of the tomb being alike in every respect, a description of one would apply to the rest. In the centre of the wall is a two feet deep recessed arch, about 30 feet high and 11 feet broad; in the wall of this arch is the door of the tomb, about 7 feet high and 4 feet wide; just over the door is a slab of marble almost yellow with age, containing the inscription which I have already translated. The rest of the wall is ornamented with fancy patterns, inlaid with red and blue-stone on white and yellowish marble. The rectangular lines which enclose the arched recess are double bands of white marble and red sand-stone, and the spandrels are profusely decorated with fancy bosses and foliage inlaid with coloured stones.

* Blochmann.

Parallel to these bands is a broader band of marble, and the two enclose a space about eighteen inches wide, engraved with verses from the Qorán. On the two corners of the broader bands, which rise to the roof of the building there were small marble minarets. The bands, however, do not spring from the floor of the tomb but from a height of about 5 feet from it; a blocking-course, about 5 feet from the floor, which goes round the building gives the lower portion of the tomb the appearance of a platform supporting a superstructnre. The bands spring from this blocking-course, under which the wall is cut off in panels and ornamented with coloured marble and stone, like the rest of the building.

The centre of the tomb is surmounted with a Moghal marble dome which springs from a 6 feet high cylindrical marble neck inlaid with red sand-stone. The pinnacle of the dome was destroyed by a storm not long ago.

On either side of the centre arch the walls are about two feet lower than the roof of the arch and are about half its width; the top of the roof is protected by a narrow ornamental balustrade, underneath which is a narrow oblong panel, which adds to the effect of a small recessed arch standing on the blocking-course. The arched recesses are of red sand-stone, here and there inlaid with marble; the rectangular bands which enclose these arches are of marble. In the lower portion of the building marble ornaments preponderate and a free use is made of black slate and red sand-stone.

The four corners of the tomb are recessed and each contains two slim but elegant marble pilasters one standing over the other The floor of the tomb is paved with white marble, inlaid with stripes of black slate; the pavement in front of the tomb, for a distance of 6 yards round it, is of red-stone, inlaid with white marble bands in the form of pointed octagons.

The present condition of this tomb is very unsatisfactory; it is hardly possible to believe that its inner walls were left in their present bare state, exposing to view a rough surface of stone and mortar. The care which provided the roof with marble water spouts, would not have so thoroughly neglected the inside of the tomb. The mausoleum contains three graves; that in the centre belongs to Atgah Khán, on its left is the grave of his wife Jí Jí Anagah, but the grave on its right has not been identified.

The Chausat Khambah, or the tomb of Mirza Aziz Kukaltash—About 20 yards from the tomb of 'Azam Khán is buried the body of his son Mírzá Azíz Kukaltásh, the foster brother of the Emperor Akbar, and one of the most influential members of his Council. After the murder of his father by Adham Khán, the Emperor took charge of Mírzá Azíz. The career of Azíz Kukaltásh was a chequered one; he was remarkable alike for the eminence which he had attained and the disgrace which he had endured. He governed the foremost provinces of the empire, and was successful in suppressing a formidable rebellion, but he had also experienced the infamy of penal servitude and political degradation. On the death of Akbar, he joined the cause of Khusrau against that of his father, Jahángír, and although he was reconciled to Jahángír and was even honoured with official advancement, his early misconduct was never forgotten. Azíz Kukaltásh was appointed Atáliq to one of the grandsons of Jahángír, whom he accompanied to Gujrat, and died at Ahmedábád in the year 1033 A. H. (1624 A. D.). His body was brought to Delhi and buried in the village of Nizám-uddín, near the graves of his father, and of the Aulíá.

The tomb of Mírzá Azíz is popularly known as the Chausat Khambah. It is a 69 feet square hall of *sixty-four pillars*, stands 22 feet high, and was built by the Mírzá during his life time. The pillars, screens, floor and ceiling of the tomb are all of marble. The pillars are erected in the following order: on each corner of the hall there is a group of four pillars, closely put together; between the pillars on the corners, on each side of the tomb, there is a row of four double pillars, supporting groined marble arches, and making a total of 48 outer pillars. There are sixteen inner pillars in four rows of four each; they stand in the same line with the double pillars. The inner pillars are twelve feet apart, and the 64 pillars, in groups of fours, support twenty-five small domes which cover twenty-five very elegant groined arches. The capital and base of every pillar is decorated with very simple *foliage*, while the shaft is beautifully polished. The outer pillars are connected by marble screens ten feet high, some pierced with lattice work, and others divided into 18 inches-square panels. The arches above the screens are open.

There are four entrances to the hall through the middle arch on each of its four sides; a skeleton iron door, through which the whole of the inside of the tomb may be seen, was put in by the local Executive Engineer. The roof is protected by a perforated parapet, underneath which is a deep weathering resting on plain corbels. The pandrels of the outer arches partake of the simple character of the rest of the building, having no more elaborate decoration than a plain flat boss on a polished marble surface.

A very small portion of the floor of the tomb is covered with red-stone; in some places the marble screens which had suffered from decay were repaired with whitish sandstone.

Entering the tomb through its eastern door, we have the hall before us divided into five open compartments by four rows of pillars. The first and second compartments are not occupied; in the third are the graves of Mírzá Azíz's elder brother, Yusúf Muhammad Khán, and his nephew; in the fourth is the grave of Mírzá Azíz Kukaltásh, and at his feet that of his second nephew; in the fifth compartment is the grave of the widow of Mírzá Azíz, and in its northern corner, railed off from the rest of the graves, is that of another nephew of the Mírzá. The rest of the graves belong to members of the Kukaltásh family. Altogether, there are ten graves in the Chausat Khambah. The inscription on the monument over Mírzá Azíz records the name of the Mírzá, and the date of his death, "1033 Hijrí," but the monument itself is quite a work of art; it is casket-shaped, and its foliage decoration is almost perfect; leaves, buds, flowers and tendrils are blended together with exquisite taste. Although not superior in this respect to the monument over the grave of Mírzá Jahángír, but, being protected from the inclemency of the weather, it is in a better state of preservation, and its embossed ornaments will last longer.

The exterior view of the Chausat Khambah is by no means very striking, but the interior of the tomb is very effective: the chaste style in which the pillars are ornamented, the well-finished groined arches, and the beautiful screens which enclose the whole, form an uncommonly beautiful sight. The

appearance of the interior of the building is soft and delicate, and in this respect it stands unrivalled, and loses nothing when compared with the magnificent elaboration of the halls of Sháh Jahán in Modern Delhi. Under the shadow of the Chausat Khambah, are the graves of the daughters and wives of Bahádur Sháh, the last king of Delhi.

The tomb of Shaikh Sallah-uddin.—Shaikh Sallah-uddín, one of the disciples of Shaikh Sadr-uddín, died at Delhi and was buried within a mile of the village of Khirki. The tomb which now stands over his grave was built in the year 754 A. H. (1353 A. D.) Sallah-uddín was a man of learning and piety, and had the reputation of being a stern moralist. He was the contemporary and neighbour of Nasír-uddín Chiragh Delhi. He lived in the reign of Muhammad Sháh Tughlaq, to whom the moralist used to administer severe rebukes. The king is said to have taken the lectures kindly, and, considering the character of the man, the forbearance was not unlikely due to fear.

The tomb of Sallah-uddín stands in the midst of the ruins of buildings, which were once attached to it; it is a single domed room, 19 feet square and 25 feet high, built of stone and mortar, and faced with red sand-stone. It stands on a platform 33 feet square, and about 4 feet from the ground. The dome on the grave is supported by twelve pillars of stone, about 10 feet high and are connected with red sand-stone lattice work. Between the two centre pillars on the east is the door of the tomb. The grave is built of marble and is 8 feet long, 4 feet broad, and 1 foot high. It is enclosed by red-stone railings 1 foot high, and from the centre of the ceiling an inverted cup is suspended over it. The dome, which stands on the roof of the tomb, is of the Tughlaq style, it is built of sand-stone covered with plaster; it springs from a three feet high cylinder and is surmounted by a 4 feet high copper gilt pinnacle. The Masjid attached to the tomb is now in ruins; and so are also its *Majlis Khánah*, or the assembly rooms. In two other domed rooms, near this tomb, are the graves of the descendants of Faríd Shakr Ganj and Sallah-uddín.

Kushak Anwar or Mehndian.—Close to the district jail of Delhi, and between its Turkmán and Delhi gates, are the ruins of a building, which have much exercised the minds of local antiquarians. This Kushak stood within the walls of Fírozábád. It is not easy to assign any object in the construction of such a building. For the purposes of a residence it must have been perfectly useless; that it could have answered any other useful purpose it is difficult to say. On a chabútrah, about 118 feet long, 88 feet broad, and 12 feet from the level of the ground, there were five pavilions, one on each corner of the platform and a fifth in the centre. The masonry floor of the chabútrah may still be seen in some places. Of the corner pavilions only one now remains; the rest may be noticed from their ruins. These pavilions were round, with a circumference of about 60 feet, and were about 20 feet high.

Syud Ahmed Khán does not assign this building to Fíroz Shah Tughlaq, but he does not think it unlikely that it was built in the reign of that king, in the year 755 A. H. (1354 A. D.). This Kushak is not generally known, and the authorities who notice it do not account for its names.

Buli Bhatiari ka Mahal.—For an account of this curious building I have to rely entirely on tradition. It is about 2 miles from the Ajmer gate of Modern Delhi. The house which gives its name to the locality is an oblong of 148 feet by 92 feet, and was occupied by one Bú'alí Khán Bhattí, whom the natives of the place have converted into Búlí Bhatiárí. The house stands on a bund still in fair order although not used. It is 518 feet long, 17 feet broad and 22 feet high. The date of the building of the bund as given by Syud Ahmed Khán, is 755 A. H. (1354 A. D.) in the reign of Fíroz Sháh Tughlaq.

The City, Fort, and Palaces of Firozabad—The city of Fírozábád was built in the year 755 A. H. (1354 A. D.) by Fíroz Sháh Tughlaq. The building materials used in the construction of the new city and its palaces were obtained from the old cities of Delhi; and considering that Qil'ah Rái Pithora, Sírí and Jahánpanáh were all equally

known as Delhi at that time, it is not easy to say which of these cities contributed most towards the building of the new capital.

"In this old city," says Shams-i-Siráj, "there were seven fortifications, built by famous sovereigns; but these buildings were old and falling into decay, and they furnished an inexhaustible supply of bricks. The trader's animals were sent to this place for a day by the government officials, and had to convey one load of bricks from thence to Fírozábád." "The Sultan," continues Shams-i-Siráj, "having selected a site at the village of Gawin [Gádípúr ?] on the banks of the Jumna, founded the city of Fírozábád before he went to Lakhnautí the second time. Here he commenced a palace ...and the nobles of his court having also obtained houses there, a new town sprang up, five *kos* distant from Delhi [the city of Rái Pithora, that is Old Delhi]. Eighteen places were included in this town, the *Kasba* of Indrapat, the sarai of Shaikh Malik Yár Parán, the sarai of Shaikh Abú Bakr Tusí, the village of Gawin, the land of Khetwara, the land of Jáhrámat, the land of Andháualí, the land of the sarai of Malik, the land of the tomb of Sultan Raziya, the land of Bharí, the land of Mahrola, and the land of Sultanpúr. So many buildings were erected that from the *kasba* of Indrapat to the Kushak-i-Shikar, five *kos* apart, all the land was occupied. There were eight public mosques, and one private mosque.....The public mosques were each large enough to accommodate 10,000 supplicants."

There are no ruins to indicate the shape of the city of Fíroz Sháh but, like most of the capital cities in its neighbourhood, it was very probably a half hexagon, with the base facing the river; the extent of the city is very fairly described by Shams-i-Siráj. It was more than double the size of Modern Delhi, or Sháhjahánábád, that is, about six miles from Indrapat to Kushak-i-Shikár, and over two miles from the river to the village of Hauz Khás, including a very considerable portion of Modern Delhi, viz, the Mahalahs known as Bulbulí Khánah, Turkmán Darwázah, and Bhojla Pahár. We may have some idea of its grandeur from the number of palatial buildings with which it was adorned by the king and his nobles; it contained eight mosques, three palaces, a hunting box (Shikárgah), numerous large buildings, and out of the 120 rest houses which Fíroz Sháh built in

Delhi and Fírozábád we may safely suppose that more than half must have been erected in the capital.

"During the forty years of the reign of the excellent Sultan Fíroz," says Shams-i-Siráj, "people used to go for pleasure from Delhi to Fírozábád, and from Fírozábád to Delhi, in such numbers, that every *kos* of the five *kos* between the two towns swarmed with people, as with ants or locusts. To accommodate this great traffic, there were public carriers who kept carriages, camels, horses, which were ready for hire at a settled rate, every morning after prayers . . palankin bearers were also ready to convey passengers . . There was also plenty of porters ready for employment by any one and they earned a good livelihood." The same authority tells us that, "so many buildings were erected that from the *Kasba* of Indrapat to the *Kushak-i-Shikar*, five *kos* apart, all the land was occupied." General Cunningham considers it "very improbable that the entire space was actually occupied," but those who have had experience of overcrowded Indian cities would hardly share the General's doubt. "But even if thinly inhabited," writes General Cunningham, "the population of Fírozábád could not have been less than that of Sháhjahánábád, as it was more than double its size. The number of inhabitants would, therefore, have been about 150,000."

Of the palaces, Shams-i-Siráj gives the following names and description:—"One was the *Mahal-a-sahan-i-gilín* [the palace of the clayey-court.] It was also called *Mahal-i-dikh*, *i. e.* the *Mahal-i-Angúr* or palace of grapes. The second was called *Mahal-i-chhaja-i-chobín* [palace of the wooden gallery]. The third was the *Mahal-i-bar-i-'am*, or palace of the public court, and it was also called *Sahn-i-miyánagí*, the central quadrangle. The first palace was appropriated to the reception of the *Khans*, *maliks*, amirs, officials and distinguished literary men. The *Mahal-i-chhaja-i-chobín* was for the reception of the principal personal attendants. The palace of the *Sahn-i-Miyánagí* was used for general reception." The ruins of these palaces have not been identified. Fírozábád continued to be the most important city on the right bank of the Jumna till the foundation of Shergarh by Sher Sháh, "the destroyer of cities and palaces." When Timúr invaded Delhi, he encamped in front of the main gate of the city of Firoz Sháh, and in front of this gateway, Ibrahím Lodí

put up the figure of a brazen bull which he had brought from Gwalior, after the conquest of that fort. The site of this gate is not known.

Of the palaces enumerated by Shams-i-Siráj we have lost all means of identity, but of the building called the Kushak Fíroz Sháh, which is also known as Kotlah Fíroz Sháh, we may mark the site with confidence, but we have neither the help of history, tradition, nor of architectural remains to indicate its exact size or shape.* The citadel was probably a parallelopipedon, with a circular bastion at each angle and a gateway in the centre of each line, with two round towers pierced with loopholes for purposes of defence; the height of the walls wherever they still exist is 60 feet, and in the centre of the citadel are the Jám'a Masjid of Fírozábád, and the pyramid of cells on which Fíroz Sháh erected Asoka's pillar. In 1850, the following ruins were noticed on the site of Fírozábád :—1st, the palace *i. e.*, the Kotlah or the Kushak of Fíroz Sháh ; 2nd, a mass of ruined buildings, nearly to the south of the palace. 3rd, 4th, and 5th, three ruined buildings, of which two are tombs and the third part of some edifice ; 6th, the Kushak Anwar or the Mehndian ; 7th, a small mosque ; 8th, apparently a dwelling house, the property of some person of consequence ; 9th, the Kalán or Kálí Masjid ; 10th, the lime kiln mosque, and 11th, a doubtful building, which probably was not within the precincts of the city.

"The palace of Fírozábád," says Cunningham, "which formed also the citadel of the new city, was strongly fortified with massive stone walls and towers of more than Egyptian slope. One of the gateways, which still exists, between the well-known Lal Darwáza and Fíroz Sháh's pillar, is a fine specimen of this bold, but rude architecture."

"There were three tunnels in this citadel wide enough to allow the ladies of the Sultan's family to travel through it in conveyances. One communicated with the river and was five zarib long, another with the Kushak-i-Shikar and

* Shams-i-Siráj describes this palace in one place "as the Kushak of Fírozábád," and in another as "the Kushak in the middle of that town."

was two kos long, and the third in the direction of Qilah Rái Pithora, about five kos long." Within a few yards on the north of Hindu Ráo's house on the ridge, is a deep hollow, and on its northern side there are two low openings together forming one entrance, which seem to lead into a tunnel. The people in the neighbourhood also point out an air shaft about 150 feet to the north of the entrance. All attempts to explore the tunnel have hitherto failed.

In the palace of Fíroz Sháh there are two objects of more than ordinary historical interest: the first is the Jám'a Masjid of Fírozábád, and the second the column of Asoka.

The mosque was built in the year 755 A. H. (1354 A. D.) by Fíroz Sháh, and must have been a building of great importance and beauty, as Timúr had not only his khutbah read here, but he took a model of it home to build a similar mosque in his own capital. The mosque was built with the materials commonly in use in the reign of Fíroz Sháh; quartzose sandstone and mortar forming the walls, all cementing is done with chunam and the whole edifice is plastered over with the latter material. It is of the sloping style of architecture, with the simple style of column which accompanied it. The following is an epitome of the report of a Committee, appointed by the Archæological Society of Delhi in the year 1847, to conduct investigations into the supposed Jám'a Masjid of Fírozábád.*

The mosque, having had to be built with regard to the Kabah of Mecca, is out of the square as regards the rest of the buildings in the citadel. The entrance to the mosque is to the north and not to the east as is usual with such entrances, on account of the proximity of the river to its eastern wall. Although this was the principal entrance to the interior of the mosque, access could also be had to its upper storey from without by four staircases in the wall, and running upwards from the lower storey or taikhánah which could be entered through arched openings. Two of these staircases were in the northern wall, east and west of the main entrance, and two in the southern wall, corresponding exactly with the

* I regret to add that the valuable plans which accompanied this report were destroyed in the mutiny of 1857.

others. It is believed from the ruins which once covered the ground in front of the gateway of the mosque, that it was connected with the building of Asoka's pillar by a bridge.

The gateway is a square domed projecting tomb-like building with three exterior and one interior doorways ; these are believed to have been narrowed and shortened by stone side pillars and lintels, supported by brackets, certainly not elegant. This part of the building may be said, as compared with the rest, as in the most complete state of repair, though the carved stone work of the doorways has been removed by the men of the neighbourhood. On proceeding through the inner doorway into the main body of the room, nothing was to be seen but the western, northern and southern walls, with recesses proving the previous existence of arches, separated by windows along the whole length to the north and the south ; the northern and western walls were complete to the roof, and in their whole length ; the southern is broken off at the eastern or river extremity to the extent of about 20 feet ; this has a breach from top to bottom, about 25 feet wide at the western extremity, adjoining the western wall. The piece corresponding with this breach in the northern wall is entire, or much that is now clear in that part of the building would have been inexplicable. In this corresponding piece are the remains of the arches supporting the roof projecting farther than in any other part ; and in one or two places are the usual round plaster ornaments of the time, with the creed in the centre. When this report was made, the whole area was covered deep with debris. A well was found nearly in the centre of the court of the mosque open to a depth of about 25 feet.

Between the arches and the windows that pierced the northern and southern walls, were traces of the previous existence of pilasters, and in one or two places the semi-pedestals were still to be seen.

In the N. W. angle was found a staircase, turning round from the floor of the secondary corner apartment—to be explained hereafter—into the northern wall, and on to the roof; and also a few steps to the left leading into a narrow passage, carried along the whole length of the western wall to the south-east angle, where it terminated in steps, leading to the upper apartment in that corner. Under the upper storey

is a series of apartments, complete to the north and west, and nearly so to the south ; these are connected with the exterior by arched doorways, and with the upper storey by the four staircases already mentioned. The apartments to the east, facing the river, have been broken off, some altogether, some only in part. From these, in the southern and northern walls, under the upper flight to the east, a second set of steps leads down into a large verandah, quite entire, and nearly on a level with the river at high water, but which seems not to have been carried round the other three sides.

The Committee seem to have entertained some doubt as to whether the well referred to in their report was a well after all, and not a shaft sunk to support the foundation of the dome erected over it. This was the octagonal dome on the eight sides of which Fíroz Sháh had put marble slabs, on which was engraved a precis of Fatúhát-i-Fíroz Sháhí, or the victories of Fíroz Sháh. No inscription of any sort or kind was discovered by the Committee of the *Archæological Society* ; if marble inscriptions were really ever put up in the dome over the well or shaft, they have been removed, as well as the square pillars on which the dome rested. Of the existence of the dome there can be no doubt, as six of the eight capitals peculiar to pillars supporting domes were found lying around the mouth of the well. When the lower arches of the western wall were cleared out, it became evident that there had been in either angle to the westward an upper apartment raised about six feet above the main floor. These two rooms had been accessible by a flight of steps in the wall, and that occupying the space of three arches on either side, they left five in the centre as the western termination of the main body of the mosque. On the walls of some of the arches were found writings, evidently the work of visitors, of various dates of the early part of the reign of Akbar, several bearing reference to the writer having come to see this " mosque." It is very likely that in the reign of either Akbar or his grandson, Sháh Jahán, the mosque was put into a state of complete repair, and that the walls were not only whitewashed but carefully plastered over. From the date discovered under a coating of whitewash on a support to one of the roofs, it was evident that the mosque was used as a place for worship in the year 1741 A. D.

Asoka's Lat.—The next object of interest in the palace of Fíroz Sháh is the pillar on which Asoka, king of Magadha, published his tolerant edicts to the world. It was put up here by Fíroz Sháh, in the year 757 A. H. (1356 A. D.) It stands on a pyramidal building of rubble stone, with domes of rubble stone irregularly set in mortar of admirable quality, and arches with ribs.*

The pyramid consists of terraces standing on an exterior platform, on the top-most of which the pillar stands; these terraces have cells with arches all round.† I agree with Mr. Beglar that there was not another storey over the highest storey now in existence; the presence of two stumps of pillars near the edge of the upper-most storey does not argue, as a matter of even strong probability, that they were parts of pillar-supports, but I am of opinion, that the addition of another storey which would serve to dwarf the size of the pillar would be an ill advised addition for men who were setting up a lofty monument to the glory of their king. The fact that the domes over the four corner towers of the third storey are on a level with the present main roof, is decidedly in favour of the theory that the building was never higher than it is now. "Vertically beneath the base of the pillar, a gallery has been broken through in the top-most storey, disclosing a sort of rough chamber, covered by a rubble dome 4 feet in diameter, on which consequently, the entire weight of the pillar rests."‡

Asoka, king of Magadha, subsequently known as Dhammásoka, was the son of Bindusara, and grandson of Chandra Gupta, "the king of Hindusthan, from Kashmir to Kanauj." He was born in the orthodox faith, and was a worshipper of Shiva, but became a convert to Bhuddism, and a powerful propagandist of his new faith. He commemorated his conversion and his desire that his new faith should be spread over his empire, by the promulgation of

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* Beglar.

† Muhammad Aním Razí in his Haft-i-Kalím, describes the pillar, as it was in the time of Akbar, as standing on a house three-storeyed high, being "a monolith of red-stone tapering upwards." "The three storeys," says Franklin, "were partly a menagerie, and partly an aviary.' From where this idea was got hold of, I am unable to say.

‡ Beglar.

edicts which still stand as undying memorials of his faith, on granite pillars which were erected from Kabul to Orissa. Asoka is the Piyadási of the pillar inscriptions and Pali records; the contemporary of Antiochus Theos, and his age may be placed between 325--200 B. C.

The pillar under notice is a sand-stone monolith, 42 feet 7 inches high, of which the upper portion of 35 feet is polished and the rest is left rough; the buried portion of the pillar is 4 feet 1 inch long.* Its upper diameter is 25·3 inches and its lower diameter 38·8 inches, the diminution being ·39 inches per foot.† The pillar is supposed to weigh 27 tons. The colour of the stone is pale pink, having black spots outside, something like dark quartz The usual amount of inaccuracies has found its way in the measurements of this pillar: Major Burt, who examined it in 1837, gives its length as about 35 feet, and diameter as 3¼ feet; Franklin gives 50 feet as its length; Von Orlich, 42 feet; William Finch, 24 feet; Shams-i-Siraj, 24 gaz or 34 feet, and its circumference 10 feet. As regards the material of the monolith and the inscriptions it bears, some very curious mistakes have also been made: the Danish Councillor, de Laët, describes it as "a very high obelisk (as some affirm) with Greek characters and placed here (as it is believed) by Alexander the Great;" the eccentric Tom Coryat also ascribes the pillar to Alexander and describes it as "brazen;" the confiding Chaplain Edward Terry, who was so charmed with Coryat's improbable stories, improves on his informant and calls it a "very great pillar of marble" of Alexander the Great; but strange to say, that the observant Bishop Heber describes it as a pillar of "cast metal," and, that the description was not an ordinary slip of the pen, is evident from the fact that the Bishop refers to it, to explain the material of the Iron Pillar, both being, in his lordship's opinion, of "cast metal."

When Timúr visited Fírozábád and saw the pillar in Fírozábád and in the Kushak Shikár, "he declared that of all the countries he had traversed he had never seen any monument comparable to those," and the praise lavished on them by contemporary writers is equally warm and extravagant.

* Beglar.

† Cunningham.

The transport of the pillar from Nahera, a village on the bank of the Jumna, in the vicinity of Khizrábád, about 120 miles from Delhi must be given in the words of the historian, Shams-i-Siráj, who was 12 years of age when the pillar was erected in Fírozábád.*

"After Sultan Fíroz returned from his expedition against Thatta, he often made excursions in the neighbourhood of Delhi. In this part of the country there were two stone columns. One was in the village of Tobra, in the district (Shikk) of Salaura and Khizrábád, in the hills (koh-payah); the other in the vicinity of the town of Mirat. These columns had stood in those places from the days of the Pandavas, but had never attracted the attention of any of the kings who sat upon the throne of Delhi, till Sultan Fíroz noticed them, and, with great exertion, brought them away. One was erected in the palace (Kushk) at Fírozábád, near the Masjid-i-Jám'a, and was called the Minára-i-Zarín, or golden column, and the other was erected in the Kushk-i-Shikár, or Hunting-palace, with great labor and skill. The author has read in works of good historians, that these columns of stone had been the walking sticks of the accursed Bhim, a man of great stature and size. The annals of the infidels record that this Bhim used to devour a thousand *man* of food daily, and no one could compete with him. In his days all this part of Hind was peopled with infidels, who were continually fighting and slaying each other. Bhim was one of five brothers, but he was the most powerful of them all. He was generally engaged in tending the herds of cattle belonging to his wicked brothers, and he was accustomed to use these two stone pillars as sticks to gather the cattle together. The size of the cattle in those days was in proportion to that of other creatures. These five brothers lived near Delhi, and when Bhim died, these two columns were left standing as memorials of him. When Fíroz Sháh first beheld these columns, he was filled with admiration and resolved to remove them with greater care as trophies to Delhi."

"Khizrábád is 90 *kos* from Delhi, in the vicinity of the hills. When the Sultan visited that district, and

* The village where the pillar originally stood is variously called Salára, Jawára, Tahera, Tohra, Tapera and Nahera. I have followed Syud Ahmed Khán.

saw the column in the village of Tabra, he resolved to remove it to Delhi, and there erect it as a memorial to future generations. After thinking over the best means of lowering the column, orders were issued commanding the attendance of all the people dwelling in the neighbourhood, within and without the Doab, and all soldiers, both horse and foot. They were ordered to bring all implements and materials suitable for the work. Directions were issued for bringing parcels of the cotton of the Sembal (silk cotton tree). Quantities of this silk cotton were placed round the column, and when the earth at its base was removed, it fell gently over on the bed prepared for it. The cotton was then removed by degrees, and after some days the pillar lay safe upon the ground. When the foundations of the pillar were examined, a large square stone was found as a base, which also was taken out. The pillar was then encased from top to bottom in reeds, and raw skins, so that no damage might accrue to it. A carriage, with forty-two wheels, was constructed, and ropes were attached to each wheel. Thousands of men hauled at every rope and after great labor and difficulty the pillar was raised on to the carriage. A strong rope was fastened to each wheel, and 200 men pulled at each of these ropes. By the simultaneous exertions of so many thousand men, the carriage was moved, and was brought to the banks of the Jumna. Here the Sultan came to meet it. A number of large boats had been collected, some of which could carry 5,000 and 7,000 maunds of grain, and the least of them 2,000 maunds. The column was very ingeniously transferred to these boats, and was then conducted to Fírozábád, where it was landed and conveyed into the Kushk with infinite labor and skill."

"At this time the author of this book was twelve years of age, and a pupil of the respected Mír Khán. When the pillar was brought to the palace, a building was commenced for its reception near the Jám'a Masjid, and the most skilful architects and workmen were employed. It was constructed of stone and chunam, and consisted of several stages or steps (poshish). When a step was finished the column was raised on to it, another step was then built and the pillar was again raised, and so on in succession until it reached the intended height. On arriving at this stage, other contrivances had to be devised

to place it in an erect position. Ropes of great thickness were obtained, and windlasses were placed on each of the six stages of the base. The ends of the ropes were fastened to the top of the pillar, and the other ends passed over the windlasses, which were firmly secured with many fastenings. The wheels were then turned, and the column was raised about half a *gaz*. Logs of wood and bags of cotton were then placed under it to prevent it sinking again. In this way by degrees, and in the course of several days, the column was raised to the perpendicular. Large beams were then placed round it as supports, until quite a cage of scaffolding was formed. It was thus secured in an upright position, straight as an arrow, without the smallest deviation from the perpendicular. The square stone, before spoken of, was placed under the pillar. After it was raised, some ornamental friezes of black and white stone were placed round its two capitals (*do sar-i-an*) and over these there was raised a gilded copper cupola called in Hindi *kalas*. The height of the obelisk was thirty-two gaz ; eight gaz was sunk in its pedestal, and twenty-four gaz was visible. On the base of the obelisk there were engraved several lines of writing in Hindi characters. Many Brahmans and Hindu devotees were invited to read them, but no one was able. It is said that certain infidel Hindus interpret them, stating that no one should be able to remove the obelisk from its place till there should arise in the latter days a Muhammadan king, named Sultan Fíroz."

When William Finch saw the pillar in 1611 A. D., it had " on the top a globe surmounted by a crescent." Its gilt pinnacle, which Shams-i-Siráj also mentions, gave the pillar the name of *Minár Zarín* or the Golden Pillar. The top of the pillar has since been injured by lightning, or cannon balls. Besides several minor records of pilgrims and travellers, ranging from the first century of the Christian Era to the present century, the two most important inscriptions on the pillar are, first that of king Asoka, containing his edicts, which were promulgated in the middle of the third century before Christ, and are engraved in the ancient Pali or the spoken language of the day ; the second, records in Sanskrit, the victories of the Chohán Prince Vísala Deva, who ruled over the country lying between the Himalayas and the Vindhya hills ; this inscription was engraved in Samwat 1220

(1163 A. D.) in modern Nagri character Of the first Cunningham remarks, that it is the longest, the most important of all the pillar inscriptions of Asoka; he then continues: "The alphabetical characters, which are of the oldest form that has yet been found in India, are most clearly and beautifully cut, and there are only a few letters of the whole record lost by the peeling off of the surface of the stone....The record consists of four distinct inscriptions on the four sides of the column facing the cardinal points, and of one long inscription immediately below, which goes completely round the pillar....The last ten lines of the eastern face, as well as the whole of the continuous inscription round shaft are peculiar to the Delhi pillar. There is a marked difference also in the appearance of this part of the inscription. The characters are all thinner and less boldly cut, the vowel marks are generally sloping instead of being horizontal or perpendicular, and the letters *j*, *t*, *s* and *h* are differently found from those of the preceding part of the inscription."*

The first four inscriptions are enclosed in frames and each

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* English translation of the inscription on the East face of the column :—

"Thus spake king Devanampiya Piyadasi :—In the twelfth year of my anointment, a religious edict was published for the pleasure and profit of the world; having destroyed that document, and regarding my former religion as sin, I now, for the benefit of the world, proclaim the fact. And this among my nobles, among my near relations, and among my dependants, whatsoever pleasures I may thus abandon I therefore cause to be destroyed; and I proclaim the same in all the congregations; while I pray with every variety of prayer for those who differ from me in creed, that they, following after my proper example, may, with me, attain unto eternal salvation: wherefore, the present edict of religion is promulgated in this 27th year of my anointment.

"Thus spake King Devanampiya Piyadasi :—18 Kings of the olden time have gone to heaven under these very desires. How then, among mankind, may religion or growth in grace be increased, yea, through the conversion of the humbly born shall religion increase?

"Thus spake King Devanampiya Piyadasi :—The present moment and the past have departed under the same ardent hopes. How by the conversion of the royal-born, may religion be increased? Through the conversion of the lowly-born, if religion thus increaseth, by how much more through the conviction of the high-born, and their conversion, shall religion increase? (*a*) Among whomsoever the name of God resteth, verily this is religion or verily virtue shall there increase.

"Thus spake King Devanampiya Piyadasi :—Wherefore, from this very hour I have caused religious discourses to be preached; I have appointed religious,

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(*a*) The last word in the 11th line is a part of the following sentence:

ye atikata

ataraon rájannè, hesa hevam ichh ásu.

Cunningham reads *atikuta* as *atikantam*.

is complete in itself. The four edicts are repeated verbatim

observances, that mankind, having listened thereto shall be brought to follow in the right path, and give *glory* unto God *Agni* ?*

South face.

"Thus spake King Devanampiya Piyadasi :—In the twenty-seventh year of my anointment. The following animals shall not be put to death ; the parrot, the maina (or thrush), the wild duck of the wilderness, the goose, the bull-faced owl, the vulture, the bat, the *Ambuka*, *Pilika*, the raven, and the common crow, the *Vedaveyaka*, the *adjutant*, *Son Kujamava*, the *Kadhat asyaka*, the *Panasasesimala*, the *Sandaka*, the *Okapada*, those that go in pairs, the white dove and the domestic pigeon. Among all four-footed beasts the following shall not be for food, they shall not be eaten : the she-goat of various kinds, and the sheep, and the sow, either when heavy with young or when giving milk. Unkilled birds, birds of every sort for the desire of their flesh, shall not be put to death. The same being alive shall not be injured, whether because of their uselessness, or for the sake of amusement, they shall not be injured. Animals that prey on life shall not be cherished.

"In the three four monthly periods (of the year) on the evening of the full moon, during the three (holy) days, namely, the fourteenth, the fifteenth, and the first day after conjunction, in the midst of the *Uposatha* ceremonies (or strict fasts) unkilled things (or live fish) shall not be exposed for sale. Yea, on these days, neither the snake tribe, nor the feeders on fish (alligators) nor any living beings whatsoever shall be put to death.

"On the eight days of the *paksha* (or half month), on the fourteenth, on the fifteenth, on the days when the moon is in the mansions of *tirsha* and *Punarvasuna* ; on these several days in the three four monthly periods, the ox shall not be tended ; the goat, the sheep, and the pig, if indeed any be tended : (for domestic use) shall not be tended. On the *tirsha and* the *Punarvasuna* of every four months, and, of every *paksha* or semi-lunation of the four months, it is forbidden to keep (for labour) either the horse or the ox."

West face.

"Thus spake King Piyadasi, beloved of the Gods :—In the twenty-seventh year of my anointment, I have caused to be promulgated the following religious edict. My devotees, in very many hundred thousand souls, having (now) attained unto knowledge ; I have ordained (the following) fines and punishments for their transgressions. Wherever devotees shall abide around, (or circumambulate) the holy fig trees for the performance of pious duties, the benefit and pleasure of the country, and its inhabitants shall be (in making) offering : and according to their generosity or otherwise shall they enjoy prosperity or adversity, and they shall give thanks for the coming of the faith. Whatever villages with their inhabitants may be given or maintained for the sake of the worship, the devotees shall receive the same and for an example unto my people they shall follow after, or exercise (solitary) austerities. And likewise, whatever blessing they shall pronounce, by these shall my devotees accumulate for the worship (?) Furthermore the people shall attend in the night the great *myrobalan* tree and the holy fig tree. My people shall foster (accumulate) the great *myrobalan*. Pleasure is to be eschewed as intoxication (?)

"My devotees doing thus for the profit and pleasure of the village, whereby they (coming) around the beauteous and holy fig tree may cheerfully abide in the performance of pious acts. In this also are fines and punishments for the transgression of my devotees appointed much to be desired is such renown ! According to the measure of the offence (the destruction of *viyo* or happiness) shall be the measure of the punishment, but (the offender) shall not be put to death by me. Banishment

* The last line ends thus :
Etam jane suta anupati pajisati
agnim namisati.
Cunningham reads *agnim* as *abhyum*.

on the pillars at Allahabad, Mattia, Radhia aud the Kushak-Shikár on the ridge near Delhi.

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shall be the punishment of those malefactors deserving of imprisonment and execution. Of those who commit murder on the highroad (dacoits ?) even none whether of the poor or of the rich shall be injured (tortured) on my three special days (?). Those guilty of cruelly beating or slaughtering living things, having escaped mutilation (through my clemency) shall give alms (as a *deo-dand*) and shall also undergo the penance of fasting. And thus it is my desire that the protection of even the workers of opposition shall send to (the support of) the worship; and (on the other hand) the people whose righteousness increases in every respect shall spontaneously partake of my benevolence."

North face.

"Thus spake King Devanampiya Pyadasi :—In the twenty-seventh year of my anointment I have caused this religious edict to be published in writing. I acknowledge and confess the faults that have been cherished in my heart. From the love of virtue, by the side of which all other things are as sins, from the strict scrutiny of sin, and from a fervent desire to be told of sin : by the fear of sin and by very enormity of sin—by these may my eyes be strengthened and confirmed (in rectitude).

"The sight of religion and the love of religion of their own accord increase and will ever increase, and my people whether of the laity, *(grihist)* or of the priesthood *(ascetics)*—all mortal beings are knit together thereby, and prescribe to themselves the same path; and above all having obtained the mastery over their passions, they become supremely wise. For this is indeed true wisdom. It is upheld and bound by (it consists in) religion—by religion which cherishes, religion which teaches pious acts, religion that bestows (the only true) pleasure.

"Thus spake king Devanampiya Piyadasi :—In religion is the chief excellence, but religion consists in good works :—in the non-omission of many acts : mercy and charity, purity and chastity ;—(these are) to me the anointment of consecration. Towards the poor and the afflicted, towards bipeds and quadrupeds, towards the fowls of the air and things that move in the waters, manifold have been the benevolent acts performed by me. Out of consideration for things inanimate even many other excellent things have been done by me. To this purpose is the present edict promulgated ; let all pay attention to it (or take cognizance thereof) : and let it endure for ages to come : and he who acts in conformity thereto, the same shall attain eternal happiness, (or shall be united with sugato.)

"Thus spake King Devanampiya Piyadasi :—Whatever appeareth to me to be virtuous and good, that is so held to be good and virtuous by me, and not the less if it have evil tendency, is it accounted for evil by me or is it named among the *asinave* (the nine offences) ? Eyes are given (to man) to distinguish between the two qualities (between right and wrong) : according to the capacity of the eyes so may they behold. The following are accounted among the nine minor transgressions : mischief, hard-heartedness, anger, pride, envy. These evil deeds of nine kinds shall on no account be mentioned. They should be regarded as opposite (or prohibited). Let this (ordinance) be impressed on my heart, let it be cherished with all my soul."

Round the Column.

"Moreover along with the increase of religion, opposition will increase : for which reason I have appointed sermons to be preached, and I have established ordinances of every kind ; through the efficacy of which, the misguided, having acquired true knowledge, shall proclaim it on all sides (?) and shall become active in upholding its duties. The disciples too, flocking in vast multitudes, (many hundred thousand souls) let these likewise receive my command— in such wise do ye too address on all sides (or address comfortably) the people united in religion. King Devanampiya Piyadasi thus spake :—Thus among the present generation

The second inscription belongs to the year 1164 A. D., and records the victories of King Vísala Deva of Sakambhári,

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have I endowed establishments, appointed men very wise in the faith, and done . . . for the faith.

"King Devanampiya Piyadasi again spake as follows :—Along the highroads I have caused fig trees to be planted, that they may be for shade for animals and men : I have (also) planted mango trees : and at every half *kos* I have caused wells to be constructed, and (resting-places ?) for the night to be erected. And how many taverns (or *serais*) have been erected by me at various places, for the entertainment of man and beast ? so that as the people, finding the road to every species of pleasure and convenience in these places of entertainment, these new towns (*nayapuri*) rejoiceth under my rule, so let them thoroughly appreciate and follow after the same (system of benevolence). This is my object and thus have I done. Thus spake King Devanampiya Piyadasi :—Let the priests deeply versed in the faith (or let my doctrines ?) penetrate among the multitude of the rich capable of granting favors, and let them penetrate alike among the unbelievers, whether of ascetics or of householders: and let them penetrate into the assemblies (?) for my sake. Moreover let them for my sake find their way among the *brahmans* and the most destitute : and among those who have abandoned domestic life, for my sake, let them penetrate : and among various unbelievers for my sake let them find their way : yea, use your utmost endeavours among these several classes, that the wise men, these men learned in religion, (or these doctrines of my religion) may penetrate among these respectively, as well as among all other unbelievers.

"Thus spake King Devanampiya Piyadasi :—And let these (priests) and others the most skilful in the sacred offices penetrating among the charitably disposed of my queens, and among all my secluded women discreetly and respectfully use their most persuasive efforts (at conversion), and acting on the heart and on the eyes of the children for my sake penetrate in like manner among the charitably disposed of other Queens and Princes for the purpose (of imparting) religious enthusiasm and thoroughly religious instruction. And this is the true religious devotion (viz.) that it shall increase the mercy and charity, the truth and purity, the kindness and honesty of the world.

"Thus spake King Devanampiya Piyadasi :—And whateversoever benevolent acts have been done by me, the same shall be prescribed as duties to the people who follow after me : and in this (manner) shall their influence and increase be manifest, by doing service to father and mother ; by doing service to spiritual pastors ; by respectful demeanour to the aged and full of years—and by kindness and condescension to *brahmans* and *sramanas*, to the orphan and destitute, to servants and the minstrel tribe.

"King Devanampiya Piyadasi again spake :—And religion increaseth among men by two separate processes,—by performance of religious offices, and by security against persecution. Accordingly that religious offices and immunities might abound among multitudes, I have observed the ordinance myself as the apple of my eye (?) as testified by all these animals which have been saved from slaughter, and by manifold other virtuous acts performed on my behalf.

"And that the religion may be free from persecution of men, increasing through the absolute prohibition to put to death living beings, or to sacrifice ought that draweth breath. For such an object is all this done, that it may endure to my sons, and their sons' sons—as long as the sun and moon shall last. Wherefore let them follow its injunctions and be obedient thereto—and let it be had in reverence and respect. In the twenty-seventh year of my reign have I caused this edict to be written ; so sayeth (Devanampiya) :—*Let stone and pillars be* prepared and let this edict of religion be engraven thereon, *that it may endure unto the remotest aesg.*"

Five detached short lines.

"By the mandate of Devanampiya, at all times the great truth (Mahamata) is appointed to be spoken. These also, (namely) mango trees and other things are the gift of the second princess (his) queen. And these for..... of Kichhigani, the

and is said to have been engraved by the order of Rái Pithora, who professed to be a descendant of the Chohán conqueror of the Tuars. This inscription consists of two portions, the shorter one is above and the longer one below the edicts of Asoka. The upper portion is engraved in much larger characters than the lower, and is on the south-west side of the pillar; and in the translation of the inscription given below in the foot note it is the first paragraph. The second portion of the inscription, which consists of two stanzas, is very defective. The two first hemistichs are wanting in seven, and the two last in five syllables. Cunningham suggests that the rendering of *chóhumánatilaka* into "Chief of the Choháns" is more forcible than that of Colebrooke's into "most eminent of the tribe which sprang from the arms" [of Brahma]. He further believes, that there is an error in referring the origin of the Choháns to Brahma, preferring the version of Múkji, the Bard of the Khichi Choháns, who derives them from the Anal Kund, or the fire-spring on Mount Abu. Agreeing with Mr. Edward Thomas, General Cunningham suggests that the name of the Prime Minister should be read *Sri Sallakshana*, and not *Sri Mad Lakshana*.*

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third princess the general (daughter's.....?). Of the second lady thus let the act redound with triple force."

* English translation of the inscription :--

"In the year 1220 or [A. D. 1163] on the 15th day of the bright half of the month of Vaisakh (this moon :) of the fortunate Visala Deva, son of the fortunate Vella Deva, king of Sakambhári.

As far as the Vindhiya, as far as the Himádri, having achieved conquest in the course of travelling to holy places; resentful to haughty kings, and indulgent to those whose necks are humbled; making Aryavarta once more what its name signifies, by causing the barbarians to be exterminated; Vísala-Deva, supreme ruler of Sakambhári and Sovereign of the earth, is victorious in the world. This conqueror, the fortunate Vigraha Raja, King of Sakambhári, most eminent of the tribe which sprang from the arms (of Brahma) now addresses his own de-cendants: By us the region of the earth between Himavat and Vindhya has been made tributary; let not your minds be void of exertion to subdue the remainder. Tears are evident in the eyes of the enemy's consort; blades of grass are perceived between thy adversaries' teeth; thy fame is predominent throughout space; the minds of thy foes are void (of hope); their route is the desert where men are hindered from passing; O Vigraha Raja Deva! in the jubilee occasioned by thy march. May thy abode, O Vigraha, sovereign of the earth be fixed, as in reason it ought, in the bosoms (akin to the mansion of dalliance) of the women with beautiful eyebrows who were married to thy enemies! There is no doubt of thy being the highest of embodied souls. Didst thou not sleep in the lap of Sri whom thou didst seize from the ocean, having churned it? In the year of the fortunate Vikramaditya 1220, on Thursday the 15th day of the bright half of the month Vaisakh. This was written in the presence of and by Sri-pati, the son of Mahava Akhyastha, of a family in Ganda at this time the fortunate Lakshana Pala, a Rajaputra, is prime minister. Siva the Terrible, and the universal Monarch."

The less important inscriptions are, however, of different ages, the more ancient must have been on the pillar before it was removed by Fíroz Sháh. One of the oldest is the name of *Sri Bhadra Mitras* or *Subhadra Mitra*, this and two other inscriptions of the Gupta period are in very small letters. In larger letters, of a somewhat later date, are several short inscriptions of which the most legible is *Surya Vishna Subarnakakana*. A second begins with *Hara Singht Subarna Kakana*, the remainder being illegible with the exception of the word *Kamára*. A third reads *Charma Subanak*, the second letter being somewhat doubtful. This record is extended in another place to *Charma Sabana shara*. Of a much later date is the name of *Siddh Bhayan Karnath Jogi*. On the northern face of the pillar there are two inscriptions in modern Nagri, both bearing date *Wednesday 13th, waning-moon of Chaitra Samvat* 1581 [1524 A. D.] The longer inscription contains the name of *Suritan Ibrahim*, being Sultan Ibrahim Lodi.*

From the top of the pyramid, on which the pillar of Asoka stands, may be seen the ruins of Fírozábád; they present a scene of desolation which has not been surpassed, even in a tract of country where seven different capitals have been successively abandoned to decay, or entombed in their own ruins. To the east of this site flows the Jumna, on the old bank of which river Fírozábád was built; to the west, north, and south the ground is covered with dismantled buildings; half of a wall, two sides of an enclosed square, a detached domed room and a cluster of five or six such buildings surround the pillar of Asoka. Further on, a round enclosure of cells, more or less complete, stands close by a corner tower of the citadel, and another tower which lies in a heap of debris. The foundations of a series of buildings, running in parallel lines, cover several acres of ground, and mark the most crowded part of the citadel. The ruins are heaped up close together nearer the river, but are less numerous as they extend further in-land.

* Cunningham's *Archæological Reports*, Vol. I., page 167.

Kushak-i-Shikar or Jahannuma and Asoka's Second Pillar.—This palace was built by Fíroz Sháh Tughlaq in the year 755 A. H. (1354 A. D.) on the top of the hill to the north-west of Modern Delhi, and outside the city of Fírozábád. It was the hunting palace of Fíroz Sháh, and its site is now identified with the ground round and about the two half-dilapidated buildings known as *Chár Búrjí* and *Pír Gaib*, and where the second pillar of Asoka has since been put up. Prince Timúr, who plundered the palace, describes it as "a fine building on the top of a hill by the banks of the Jumna." "Fíroz Sháh," says Yazdí, the obsequious historian of Prince Timúr, "had given the name of Jahannuma by inspiration, as it was to become illustrious by the visit of the Sovereign of the world."

The second pillar of Asoka "was removed by Sultan Fíroz," says Shams-i-Siráj, "with similar skill and labour, and was re-erected on a hill in the Kushak-i-Shikár (amid great feasting and rejoicing.) After the erection of the pillar, a large town sprang up and the nobles of the Court built houses there."

The hunting palace, or "hunting seat" as Finch calls it, has been identified by tradition with the half-ruined building, popularly known as the Pír Gaib, used as a Great Trigonometrical Survey Station. The portion of the palace that is still standing is an oblong of 66 feet by 58, but I have no doubt that it extended to the east as far the crest of the ridge, —for fully over a hundred and ten feet,—on which may yet be seen the ruins of walls "resembling those still existing in material, workmanship, and in the great slope or batter which appears to have been a characteristic of the period."*

The approach to the building, which is double-storeyed, is from the north, and you enter it thro' what looks like a gateway, but which is evidently the remains of an arched, square, but roofless room in front of which are the remains of the floor of some building, an oblong of 50 feet by 30. To the right of this dismantled room is a buttress, which is carried up to the roof of the upper floor, and over it are the walls of a square room with arched openings; on its east is a

* Beglar.

stone pillar and on its west the upper half of the buttress supporting the arch. Behind the roofless room is a second room, of the same size as the first, but completely covered. The eastern wall of the front room, which forms part of the extreme north-eastern face of the building, indicates, as remarked before, the extension of the building on that side; and on the west of the room is the buttress already mentioned. The front room, which resembles a gateway, stands out three or four feet from the line of the northern wall of the building. This wall, so far as it belongs to the lower storey, rises to the level of the supposed gateway, and is about 18 feet wide at the base, but loses about three feet when it reaches the roof of the lower storey. The wall has no window or door in it.

On the corner of the wall is an octagonal buttress, which, as it reaches the upper storey, becomes circular. The eastern face of the building is hardly more intelligible; its northern face here assumes the appearance of a small two-storeyed tower attached to this, in the lower storey, are three arched but roofless; openings, 3 feet wide and 10 feet high. On the upper storey, surmounting these openings, are a square and an arched doorway; the rest of this side of the building presents a dead wall. Turning round to the south, we come to a low but broad and arched doorway now walled up, but when open, it formed the southern entrance of a passage through the whole building from the north to the south. To the west of this doorway, there are two flights of masonry steps with a ten feet wide dead wall between them; these steps conduct the visitor to the top of the building and are divided into two flights, the first consisting of 14, and the second of 18 steps. The western face of the building is remarkable for nothing more interesting than a very heavy gateway with a low arched entrance; above this entrance, there is a dead wall with buttresses flanking the gateway and the corners of the wall. Standing under this gateway, we can see through the whole building from the west to the east, the distance being made up of the two passages and two rooms. Through a hole, about a foot in diameter, in the centre of the roof of the room nearest to this gate and the room above it, the sky is visible.

Returning to the northern entrance, which I have supposed to be the main entrance of the building, on our right, as we enter the place, is a flight of 25 steps which takes us to the second storey. As we reach the second floor on our right is a masonry monument, the grave itself being under the right hand wall of the staircase. To the left of the monument are the mehrábs of a mosque, with this peculiarity worthy of notice, that while the centre *Mehrâb* and its right arch are in the western wall, its left arch is in the northern wall and at right angles to the wall which contains the centre *mehrâb*. The second storey consists of two rooms. On the roof of these rooms, which is protected by a plain parapet 2½ feet high reached by the steps already described on the south of the house, there are the remains of the walls of a third storey. On the roof of the southern room there is a hollow masonry cylinder, about 4 feet high and 2½ feet in diameter, with an arched hole on either side of it, and covered by a slab of granite a little over 4 inches in diameter, through which the sky may be seen from the ground floor. Whether the hole in the upper roof, and the corresponding hole in the roof of the lower storey, were intended for scientific purposes or not, it is impossible to say.

Asoka's Pillar II.—At a short distance to the south of the Pír Gaib, on the ridge, stands the second pillar of Asoka, which was put up by Fíroz Sháh in his Kushak Shikár, about four miles from the first Lat. It was thrown down by an accidental explosion of a powder magazine, in the reign of Farokhsir, and was broken into five pieces, an occurrence which is no longer accepted on the sole authority of tradition. Padre Tieffenthaler, who resided in India between 1743 and 1776, corroborates the native account; he was informed by the people of Delhi that it was standing erect not long before his visit to that place. When Burt, who visited Delhi in 1833, put the five pieces in order for a sketch, the monolith measured 33 feet long, and about 3 feet 2 inches in diameter. Burt believes that about two feet of stone was lost at the top of the pillar. Although smaller than the pillar in the palace of

Fírozábád, it is larger in diameter. The following measurements are taken from General Cunningham's reports :—the whole length of the five pieces is 32¾ feet, the portion of the shaft below the inscription measures 18 feet and that above it 12 feet, upper diameter 29½ inches and lower diameter 35·82 inches ; the rough thick end is about 38 inches in diameter, the diminution of the pillar is just one-fifth of an inch per foot.

In 1838, Hindu Rao, who seems to have purchased the pillar with Mr. Fraser's house, in the grounds of which the broken pieces were lying, made it a present to the Asiatic Society of Bengal. The Executive Engineer of Delhi, who was requested to remove the pillar, found it too expensive to send it down to Calcutta, and at the suggestion of Burt, and with the sanction of the Asiatic Society, he sawed off the inscribed portion of the pillar and sent it to that learned body, by whom it was placed under the bust of the lamented Mr. James Prinsep, the greatest antiquarian of India. In 1866, the inscription was returned to Delhi, and a year later, the broken pieces were joined together and the restored pillar was again put up by Mr. Campbell. It now stands on a granite plinth of two terraces, the first is 10 feet square and three feet high, and the second 7½ feet square and 2½ feet high. The five pieces in which the pillar was broken may be easily distinguished ; on the fourth piece from the bottom is the inscription, which however is hardly visible, but when examined by Mr. Prinsep was found to be the exact duplicate of the other inscriptions. The following is engraved in English on the granite plinth of the pillar :

" This pillar was originally erected at Meerut
In the third century B. C. by

KING ASOKA.

It was removed thence and set up in the Koshuk Shikar Palace near this, by the Emperor Firoz Shah, A. D. 1356.

Thrown down and broken into five pieces by the explosion of a powder magazine, A. D. 1713—1719, it was restored and set up in this place by the British Government, A. D. 1867."

Char Burji or Four Towers.—Tradition ascribes this building to the Kushak Shikar of Sultan Fíroz Sháh. It is evidently a mausoleum, although the name of the dead is unknown. It is undeniably a Fíroz Sháhí building, possessing all the characteristics of that period, and stands close to, if not within, the hunting palace of Fíroz Sháh. The building is an oblong of 61 feet by 56 ; it is double-storeyed, built of stone and mortar, and covered with lime plaster. It is entered through a small masonry doorway facing the south, the wall above which is pierced by three square openings ; on each side of the door is an arched entrance not more than five and a half feet high. On the eastern face of the building there are three arched doors, the centre one being larger than those on its sides ; above these the wall is pierced by seven loophole-style openings, each protected by a small but heavy looking and pointed weathering. The northern face of the building is like its eastern face ; on the western inner wall of the ground floor is a mosque, which consists of a single *mehráb* or an arched recess, which represents the qiblah. The ground floor of the building consists of nine rooms, the largest is in the centre and contains a grave ; on each corner there is a small room and a middle room on each side. The middle room on the west was used as a mosque, as already mentioned ; the monument over the grave has been so effectually removed, that there is not the slightest sign of the room having ever been used for a mortuary purpose ; but the second monument on the roof of the upper storey is still in existence.

On either side of the main entrance, in the southern wall of the building, there are two staircases which lead to the upper floor. On each corner of the upper storey is a small domed room, or burj ; three of these rooms are standing ; that on the N. W. corner is believed to have been struck down by lightning, which is also said to have laid bare the bones in the grave. Connecting the towers on the S. E. and the S. W. corners of the tomb, and right over its main gateway, is a small, narrow, room with three arched openings facing the north and corresponding with the three square openings in the back wall. Between the S. E. and N. E. towers, and the N. E. and N. W. towers, there are bare walls pierced by openings like those described in the eastern

wall. On the west, corresponding with the mosque below, there is a small room ; in the centre of the roof of the upper storey is a masonry monument corresponding with the grave in the ground floor.

The Tomb of Nasir-uddin Mahmud Chiragh Delhi.—Shaikh Nasír-uddín Mahmúd, the last of the great Chistí saints of Delhi, was the chief disciple and successor of Nizám-uddín Aulíá and a man of learning and benevolence. He was renowned as an author and a preacher, and was successful in spreading the faith of Muhammad. Both in force of character and intellect, he was inferior to his great master, but he bore his troubles at the hands of Muhammad Tughlaq Sháh with great patience. When Makhdúm Jahánián Sayyad Jalál visited Mecca, he was asked by the Sharíf of K'abah, "Now that all the great saints are gone, who is considered the most renowned man of piety in Delhi ?" the Makhdúm replied : " Nasír-uddín Mahmúd ; adding that " Nasír-uddín was the lamp [Chiragh] of Delhi."

On Friday, the 18th Ramzán, 757 A. H. (1356 A. D.) Nasír-uddín was stabbed to death by a fanatical Jálandarí *fakir* who had come to him for alms. Nasír-uddín died in the 82nd year of his age. He was buried close to the village of Khirki, in the room in which he had lived. A dome was built over it by Firoz Sháh in the year 749 A. H. (1350 A. D.) during the life time of the saint ; in the grave of Nasír-uddín was also buried all that he most valued in life : the cloak, the staff, the cup, and the carpet for prayer which were bequeathed to him by his master Nizám-uddín Aulíá.

The tomb of Chiragh Delhi stands within an irregularly built oblong enclosure of 180 feet by 104, the walls having an average height of 12 feet. The greater portion of this enclosure was built by the Emperor Muhammad Sháh in the year 1142 A.H. (1729 A. D.) ; its main entrance, which was built 12 years after the death of Chiragh Delhi, is on its north-eastern corner ; it is a domed gateway of stone and masonry, with an arched door, over which is an inscription

on white marble.* The room of the gateway is 31 feet square, exterior, and inside about 19 feet square; with masonry chabútrahs, about 2½ feet high, on either side. From the ground to its embattled roof the tomb is about 27 feet high and the dome stands about 15 feet from the roof; thus making the whole height of the tomb about 42 feet. The parapet over the door is flanked by two small masonry minarets.

About 35 feet to the north-west of the gateway is the tomb of Chiragh Delhi. It is a single room, about 30 feet square and 40 feet high, and surmounted by a masonry dome with a gilt pinnacle; on each corner of the roof there is a slim, eight feet high minaret; the roof is protected by a plain parapet; under the parapet is a deep stone weathering, which was built by one Khwájah Muhammad Khán. Underneath the weathering there are twelve arched openings, three on each side, supported by twelve red-stone pillars; with the exception of the door, which is in the middle arch on the south, the rest of the arches are covered with pierced screens of red sand-stone. Inside the room is the grave of Chiragh Delhi, surrounded by a dwarf railing. Under the dome an inverted gilt cup is suspended over the grave. To the west of the tomb is a mosque, and in a room in the north-western corner of the enclosure is the wooden seat which was offered to the shrine by one Dakhní Beg; it is 7 feet long, 4 wide and 3 feet high; it is cut out of one piece of wood, is elaborately carved and bears the following inscription—

"God is great!
This throne of wood is an offering made by Dakhní
To the worthy Nasír-uddín Mahmúd.
May God purify his cherished secrets, 1143 Hijrí,
In the 12th year of the reign of Muhammad Sháh Ghází.

Prince Gholam Haidar, son of Akbar Sháh II., built a verandah round the tomb of Chiragh Delhi, but it fell in shortly after its completion.

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* English translation of the inscription:—"In the name of God! auspicious is the mention of his name. The building of this glorious dome was (finished) in the reign of the august, strengthened with the help of the merciful, Abúl Muzaffar Fíroz Sháh, Sultan; may God perpetuate his Kingdom; in the year 775, date of the flight of the Messenger of God, on whom be God's blessing. Greeting."

Qadam Sharif.—About a mile and a half to the south of the Lahore Gate of Modern Delhi is the shrine of *Qadam Sharif*, or the sacred foot-print, believed to be the impression of the foot of the Prophet Muhammad on a small slab of marble. In the year 776 A. H. (1374 A. D.) Fateh Khán the son of Fíroz Sháh Tughlaq died, and was buried here by his father; the king placed the sacred marble over the grave of his son, as a memorial of his veneration for the relic and affection for his child. The tomb is an irregularly constructed stone and masonry building with seven doors and gateways of which two are now closed. It stands on a masonry platform about 5½ feet high, and is an oblong of 76 feet by 63 feet; the main entrance is on the east, on the east and the west there are masonry colonnades with masonry domes at the four corners. In these colonnades are the graves of other members of the family of Fíroz Sháh Tughlaq, and, in later times, some of the merchants of Delhi have availed themselves of the advantage of the neighbourhood of the sacred marble to use the place for burial. Between the two colonnades is an irregular oblong enclosure, the walls of which are formed by upright slabs of sand-stone about 4½ feet high. This inner enclosure is entered through a small gateway in its southern wall, and within it is a covered space, 38 feet long and 29 feet broad, the roof of which has sloping sides, something in the style of a thatched house, and is supported by 26 stone pillars.* Each of the four corners of the roof is surmounted by a small open pavilion consisting of a low dome standing on four pillars. Under the roof of this room is a deep stone weathering, and on its northern side is the grave

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* English translation of the inscription is over the doorway of the inner enclosure :—

The guide of those who have lost [their way,] Muhammad !
The preacher of preachers, Muhammad !
Glorious is the Madrasah, the pulpit and the house
In the midst of which is read the praise of Muhammad !
For broken hearts he is a [healing] balm !
For the afflicted in the heart, Muhammad is a comfort !
The sky itself becomes only a step under the foot of him,
Who himself has become the dust of the feet of Muhammad !
I am one of the dogs of his lane,
And have become a lion [Sherwán] among the Fakírs [who follow Muhammad.

of Fateh Khán, over which is placed a flat marble monument about 9 feet long, 4½ feet broad, and 1½ feet high. The marble with the "sacred foot-print" is fixed on the grave in a small tank about 3½ feet long and 2½ feet wide, and is supposed to rest over the breast of the deceased prince. Round the tank is an inscription, of which the following is an English translation :

The earth, which bears the print of the sole of your foot,
Will continue for years to be worshipped by those who behold it.
[Hafiz].
Yusúf, in the place where Muhammad [left] his foot print,
Built this tomb by the blessing of God.
As to the date of the completion of this building,
I heard what Hathif said : Well done.

The grave is surrounded by a marble wall about 2 feet high ; within the walls of the inner enclosure there is a second grave of which I have been unable to get any account.

A mosque known as the Masjid Chaurá-yáh-Qadam Sharíf, or the mosque on the cross roads of Qadam Sharíf, was built shortly after the shrine, and resembles the mosques attributed to Khán Jahán.

The Mosques of Khan Jahan.*—The declining years of Fíroz Sháh Tughlaq were rendered famous by the erection of several important mosques by his Prime Minister, Khán Jahán, the second Wazir of that name.

* The reputation which the Khán Jaháns, father and son, have acquired as eminent builders,—second only to a King who is still famous throughout Northern India for his love and patronage of architecture,—appears to me hardly deserved. I agree with my friend, Mr. Tremlett, that "it seems difficult to see what there is to admire in low colonnades, surmounted by rows of hemispherical domes of small diameter, each one touching its fellow, with one of larger size here and there over a gateway." It may be granted, however, that the present sombre appearance of these mosques is entirely due to age, and that originally they must have been covered with a coating of coloured plaster.

The seven mosques, generally reported to have been built by Khán Jahán, the son, are, according to Mr. A. A. Roberts, the following :

"1. A very large one situated on the lands of Mourzah Khirkee in the Southern pergunnah [a then sub-district of Delhi] about eight miles due south of Delhi.

"2. Another large mosque in the village of Begumpore . . This musjid is situated about two miles N. W. of that of Khirkee, and may be seen about a quarter of a mile off the road on the left hand side as you go to the Kootub [Qutb].

"3. A smaller mosque in Kalee Sarai, close to Begumpore.

"4. A mosque near Nizam-oodeen's shrine, and bearing an inscription with the date A. H. 772, or 17 years previous to the Kalee Musjid in the city.

"5. A very dilapidated mosque near Firoz Shah's Kotila.

"6. The mosque near the city wall, and situated between the Lahore and the Ajmere gates.

"7. The Kalee Musjid within the city."

Of these seven mosques it is only necessary to describe the three most important and best preserved specimens, viz. the Kálí or Kalán Masjid and the Masjids at Khirki and Begampúr.

The Kali or Kalan Masjid.—Among the most perfect specimens of architecture of the age of Fíroz Sháh Tughlaq is the large mosque within the walls of Modern Delhi (Sháhjahánábád), known commonly as the Kálí Masjid, or black mosque ; but this designation, though there are grounds for believing it to be one of long standing, is in all probability a corruption of Kalan Masjid or chief mosque. It is situated near the Turkman Gate of the town, and in the neighbourhood of the celebrated shrine of Turkman Sháh. It is an oblong block of building 140 feet in length and 120 feet in breadth, and the walls are six feet deep, built on ground somewhat higher than that which surrounds it, and, with the exception of the Jáma' Masjid and the gates of the Palace, is the most prominent structure in the city of Delhi. It consists of two storeys, the first or basement storey, the middle of which is a solid mass, forming the floor of the Masjid, is 28 feet in height, consisting of a number of small double apartments, which were possibly built for the

very purpose they now answer, namely, that of assisting by the rent they yield, in defraying the expenses of the mosque, in conformity with a practice prevailing to this day. The apartments along the walls are accessible by doors raised one step above the ground ; those in the towers by passages from the neighbouring rooms. The upper storey to the top of the battlements is 38 feet high, making a total height of 66 feet, will be described hereafter. The mosque is built of the materials which appear to have been generally in use at the time of its construction, viz., the common quartzose sand-stone found in the immediate neighbourhood of Delhi. This stone, which is in masses of various sizes, some, especially those towards the foundation, being of considerable dimensions, is unhewn, and cemented by chunam of the best quality, indeed so excellent that the strength of the domed roof seems to depend entirely on its adhesive properties, there being no attempt at placing the stones of which it is constructed throughout, into anything like the arrangement now adopted in the building of arches or domes, crowned by a centre or key-stone. This cementing chunam in this, and it is believed in all other buildings of the period, with a view probably of saving the expenditure of lime, is mixed with a great proportion of brick *surki*, of which many pieces are upwards of an inch in diameter. The whole of the edifice, both inside and outside, has been plastered over with chunam of the best description to judge by what remains ; and parts about the doorway show that the outside has been at some time or other colored of that peculiar blue-black produced by the ground charcoal of cocoanuts, and other similar substances. Very little, however, of the plastering remains, except in the body of the mosque, where some care appears to have been taken for its preservation (by repeated whitewashing), and on the roof and domes which its durability has preserved from destruction. The whole is in a very fair state of preservation, and where, here and there, stones have fallen out, especially at the base of the towers and walls, they have been carefully replaced by brick masonry. The steps leading up to the entrance door, which are thirty-one in number, and the pillars of the doorways and of the arches, are constructed of square roughly hewn, hard grey-stone, described by Captain Cautley, as only a variety of the quartzose sand-stone more commonly in use in the walls, etc., which is also used for the eaves (slabs not

above two inches thick, and about two feet square,) projecting into the upper inner square or court of the mosque, and for the brackets which support them. These brackets, as well as the pillars at the doorways, are carved. Under the eaves and resting on the brackets, is a ledge of red-stone, now so commonly in use throughout Northern India, but which seems to have been much more sparingly employed about the time of Fíroz Sháh than it was eighty or a hundred years before, in the Qutb Minár, the Mot-kí-Masjid and other structures of the time of Qutb-uddín and Shums-uddín Altamsh. The red-stone is also used (on account presumably, of its being softer and therefore more easily carved,) in the lattices of the windows, which are still open, and probably ornamented all the thirty-three windows which surrounded the upper storey, some of which are now blocked up with the common stone masonry. There are also lattices of the same material between the main body of the mosque and the vaulted passage leading on each side to the dark apartments behind, but none to the west. These lattices appear, notwithstanding their having been very well carved, to have been all covered with very fine chunam, after the fashion which prevailed to within the last hundred years, when the finely carved pillars, such as are standing in the ruins of the Kudsiá Begam's Palace, built by the mother of Muhammad Sháh (outside the Kashmír gate) were similarly plastered over. The stairs leading from below to the upper or main storey are a flight of 29 steps, built upon these blind arches, with a landing place, and two more steps leading into the vestibule. The doorway, which stands out about 30 feet from the eastern wall of the mosque, is surmounted by a low dome flanked by two minarets tapering into cones. It stands about 20 feet from the ground, and over the doorway is a slab of somewhat rudely polished marble with an inscription in the Naskh character, of which the following is a translation:

"By the grace and mercy of God, in the reign and sovereignty of the religious King, strong by the help of the Merciful, Abúl-Muzaffar Fíroz Sháh, Sultan, may his reign last for ever; this mosque was built by the son of the slave of the threshold of Junáh Sháh Maqbúl entitled Khán Jahán, son of Jahán, may God be merciful to this slave. Any one coming to this mosque is to pray for the benefit of the King of the Musalman and of this slave, and remember (them) in (their) Fátehá and Ikhlás, and may God forgive (such a man) for ever. By the grace of the

prophet and his posterity, this mosque was finished, on the date, the 10th of Jamád-ul-Akhír, the year 789 (Hijrí)."*

It appears that the letters were first cut into the marble with small deep round holes in each letter, or limb of a letter, and that subsequently lead was poured into the cavities and then polished off even with the surface of the marble, the small deep holes assisting in keeping the lead firm in its place. The greater part has, however, fallen out, with the exception of that in the vowel points, which are almost all perfect, and of two or three of the letters in the first, and second lines. The entrance to the main body of the building is through a square ante-room with a domed roof, to which there were an outer and an inner pair of doors moving in sockets of a singular description, but common in the architecture of the times. The latter have disappeared, the former are still in existence, and to judge from their antique appearance, their most rude construction, and the very coarse iron work about them, it is fair to infer that they are of a very ancient date, if not coeval with the mosque itself.

On either side of the doorway there are three arched openings both in the basement and the upper storeys. On either side of the room in the gateway there are screens of red sand-stone covering arched niches. On passing the second door-way you enter a cloister surrounding, on three sides, the inner court of the mosque. This cloister supports four domes on the north, and south sides, and six on the east, the part next the entrance being covered with a nearly flat octagonal roof, of superior construction. The court of the mosque is 60 feet long and 48 feet broad, and under the roof of the corridors that enclose them is a deep stone weathering

* Sir Henry Elliot objected to the translation of this inscription, by Messrs. Lewis and Cope : "You have translated 'Muqbool-ool-Mukhateb,' 'exalted with the title.' Now this conjunction of the two words is not good Arabic, and I look upon it that Muqbool is part of Jonah Shah's name :—'Jonah Shah Muqbool, entitled Khan Jahan.' The name was very common at that period, and his father's name also is given by some authors as Mulik Muqbool, and by others as Mulik Kubool. Ferishta, in one part, calls the father Muqbil. At all events there seems enough to show that the son's name was Mukbool, and should be so read in the inscription. Junah Shah was no doubt the name given by the obsequious father, in compliment to Mahomed Tugluk, whose name was Jonah Shah, after whom Jonpoor was so named by his nephew Ferooz ?"

Shams-i-Siráj disposes of the difficulty : "The name of Khán-i-Jahán [the father of the founder of the mosque] was Makbul. In his state of ignorance (i. e. when he was a Hindu) he was called Kattu. On being admitted to the honour of the faith, the Sultan gave him the name of Makbúl."

on roughly finished corbels. In the part of the court next this square are three principal tombs, and a secondary one, in a row, built of brick and plastered over, three of men and one of a woman. The three first have each head-walls about three and a half feet high, with recesses for lamps, and altogether look so modern that it is difficult to believe in the correctness of the tradition which has it, that Khán Jahán, the father, and Khán Jahán the son, are both buried here, though it should be remembered that the tomb still in existence, over the remains of the founder of the Tughlaq dynasty, is also of brick. There is no trace of an inscription which could afford the slightest clue to the truth or falsehood of the tradition. On the west side of the court is the main body of the mosque, consisting of a system of arches and domes, supported by six double and eighteen single pillars, including the pillasters against the walls on three sides. There are consequently five arches in front, and three in depth, supporting fifteen domes in all, the centre one is about three feet higher than the others. Round this colonnade, which would be decidedly imposing were the pillars only two or three feet higher, runs an enclosed passage, the use of which it is difficult to explain at present. It is dark and divided in the rear (to the west), being there separated from the mosque by a dead wall into three apartments, the centre one the smallest. In the inner wall of this passage, on either side and to the right and left of the door leading into it from the surrounding cloister, are flights of steps leading to the roof. The roof is covered with small conical domes ; there are fifteen such domes over the masjid proper, five over the northern, and five over the southern corridors, and four over the eastern rooms, besides that over the main entrance, thus making a total of thirty domes. The following points regarding the Kalán Masjid, the most perfect specimen of Fíroz Sháh's time, seem worthy of remark :—

1st. The sloping style of the architecture seems peculiarly illustrative of the buildings of that and earlier periods. The sloping pillasters on each side of the main entrance give somewhat of an Egyptian appearance to the front of the building, which is not dissimilar from some of the more ancient remains of Hindoo architecture, the style of which is generally believed to have been derived from the Egyptians.

2nd. The very simple kind of column and entablature used in this building as supports to the arches, is a point also very worthy of notice. It consists of one, or in most instances two upright stones, or pillars, standing on a third, with a fourth placed on the top as an entablature. The peculiar construction of the arches and domes, the stones of which are held together by the wonderful adhesive qualities of the lime used in those days, without any key-stones, has been before remarked upon and is another characteristic of the Muhammadan Indian buildings of the fourteenth century.

3rd. It is reasonable to infer that this mosque was built in the midst of a considerable population, and that the present site of Delhi was either a suburb of the then Fírozábád, or if not, a portion of that town itself.*

Bishop Heber writes of this mosque as follows:—"The Kala Musjid is small, and has nothing worthy of notice about it, but its plainness, solidity and great antiquity, being a work of the first Pathan conquerors, and belonging to the times of primitive Musulman simplicity. It is exactly of the plan of the original Arabian mosques, a square court surrounded by a cloister, and roofed with many small domes of the plainest and most solid construction, like the rudest specimen of what we call the early Norman architecture. It has no minaret; the crier stands on the roof to proclaim the hour of prayer."

Khirki Masjid.—The mosque at Khirki is an enormous structure, situated on rather high ground, and built of dark coloured granite, cased all over with masonry plaster, now black with age and which gives it a very sombre appearance. It was built by Khán Jahán, probably, in the year 789 A. H. (1387 A. D.) It is a square, supported at the four corners by sloping towers about 50 feet high, and consists of three storeys, viz. the first, or the basement storey, the roof of which is on a level with the floor of the second storey of the mosque, and the third storey which stands over its roof. On the north, south and east of the mosque there are three Pathan gateways, which stand out about 23 feet from the wall of the mosque, and are entered by doorways about 9

* For this description of the Kalán Masjid I am much indebted to Messrs. Lewis and Cope.

feet high; the door in the northern gateway has wooden folds; each of the gateways is surmounted by a low masonry dome, and the roof is protected by a heavy parapet, the outer corners of which support 8 feet high minarets. The eastern, western and the northern walls of the mosque are pierced with windows covered with red sand-stone screens, 6 on either side of the gateways; there are also similarly constructed windows in the right and the left walls of the gateways. In the centre of the western wall is the *mehráb* of the mosque, in a room about 20 feet from north to south and 19 feet from east to west; there is no window or opening in this wall.

The mosque, as already described, consists of two storeys; the first or the basement storey is about 10 feet high, and contains low cells two deep; the second storey is about 22 feet high and is crowned with 89 small domes of plain but solid construction. The wall of the basement storey is 7 feet thick and that of the upper storey is about 5 feet thick and tapers to the parapet, retaining at the top a thickness of only 2 feet. The whole building is in excellent preservation, with the exception of the north-east angle, the roof of which has fallen in, not however from decay but from the effects of a fire which is said to have occurred some 90 years ago. A quantity of fodder was stored at the time in this part of the building and the fire is attributed to an incendiary.

The description of the Kalán Masjid applies equally to the mosque at Khirki, as regards the style of architecture, materials, &c. The Khirki mosque displays the same decidedly Egyptian style, and is composed of materials similar to those of the Kalán Masjid. There is, however, a remarkable difference between the size and plan of the two buildings. The Kalán Masjid has a length of but 140 feet including the corner towers, while the mosque at Khirki is upwards of 210 feet long, including the towers. The former is a rectangular parallelogram; the latter is a square. The Kalán Masjid has but one inner court, viz. in the centre of the building; the latter has four inner courts. As the visitor enters the Khirki mosque he finds himself in an extensive hall, the roof of which is supported by, exclusive of the pilasters, fourteen rows of pillars, fifteen abreast and about nine feet apart; four open

courts, about 30 feet square, each in the centre of a quarter of the mosque, which interrupt the continuity of the rows of pillars.

The cloisters, the pillars, the domes, &c. are much the same as in the Kalán Masjid. The basement storey consists of 104 small cells with arched ceilings, each cell being about 9 feet square. There is also a cell beneath each door and one in each turret, making in all 112 cells. The greater number of these cells were at one time blocked up with filth and mud. About 100 years ago, during the convulsions which occurred in the time of Muhammad Sháh, the villagers of Khirki took refuge within the mosque, and lived in it till within the last few years, when they were turned out by the order of the local authorities. When Mr. A. A. Roberts saw the place, about 30 years ago, it contained "18 families, numbering 42 men, 42 women, 30 boys and 20 girls, or 134 souls in all, besides 147 head of cattle, cooped up within this building. There are only 38 Mahomedans; the rest are Hindoos." It is to be regretted that there is no inscription to inform us of the precise period of the building of this mosque.

Begampuri Masjid.—This mosque was also built by Khán Jahán in the year 789 A. H. (1387 A. D.) in the village of Begampúr; its characteristics are those of the Kalán and Khirki Masjids, already described, but unlike them it has only a single storey, which stands on a heavy masonry plinth. Stone and mortar are the materials used in the building of this mosque; the walls being covered with plaster now perfectly black with age. The mosque is an oblong of 307 feet, from north to south, by 295 feet, from east to west, and stands about 31 feet high inclusive of the plinth. It is entered by gateways on the east, north and south; the chief entrance is on the east and is raised by fifteen stone steps on its three sides; the steps in front of the other two gateways have either disappeared under the accumulation of earth, or were destroyed for their materials. Each of the three gateways contains two rooms. The northern and the southern gateways stand forward about ten feet from the line of the walls of the mosque, and have each a doorway in its centre; the eastern,

or the main gateway stands about 30 feet from the eastern wall, and has one inner and three outer entrances. Outside the line of the walls of the mosque, each of the side gateways has a room about 12 feet square, and within the walls a room about 25 feet square. The outer room of the eastern gateway is about 25 feet square, and the inner room is an oblong of 25 feet by 12 feet.

The mosque is paved with sand-stone, and has an open court in the centre, about 247 feet long, from north to south, and 223 feet broad, from east to west. Round this court there are arched cells, about 12 feet high ; those on the east, north, and south are 16½ feet wide, but the width of the other arches vary from 6 feet to 12 feet ; on either side of the gateways there are 7 cells, thus making 45 rooms on three sides of the court, inclusive of the inner rooms of the gateways. The cells on the western side are three deep, there being 7 cells on either side of the centre arch, thus making in all 45 rooms. The *Mehráb*s in the western wall are lofty ; the mosque proper being in the centre open room, which is about 30 feet square.

There are 64 domes on the roof of the mosque ; the larger ones, being about 9 feet high, are built in the style of the domes of the Khirki Masjid.

The Tomb of Firoz Shah Tughlaq.—This monument, which is one of a long range of buildings, was built, according to Syud Ahmed Khán, in the year 792 A. H. (1389 A. D.) by Nasír-uddín-Tughlaq Sháh in the village of Hauz Khás. It is a square of about 40 feet, is very lofty, and built of stone and masonry. The principal entrance is on the south, where a stone wall, about two feet high with a broad coping, forms a diminutive court, by which the door is approached. The door is raised by three steps ; it is wide and oblong, and built in an arch, and the panel over it is filled in with stone lattice work ; the lintels and side-posts are made to project a little, and are carved slightly. The east door resembles the one just described ; at the west and north are recesses in the wall, resembling those in which the opposite doors are set. At the side of the north recess is a narrow pointed arch which led into the Madrasah. " At a considerable height

above the floor, the shape of the walls is changed from a square to an octagon and then to a sixteen-sided figure, and so on, by filling up the corners with masonry worked into a beautiful honey-comb kind of pattern, and richly painted." The roof is protected by a low battlemented parapet. "The dome, a hemispherical one, is of considerable diameter, with a large circle painted in an elegant pattern at the top, from which belts cutting each other are drawn down to the bottom of the dome. In the intersections of the belt are three rows of medallions of different sizes and figures: the belts and medallions being all painted on the white ground of the tomb." Outside the south door is an inscription engraved on fine plaster, which has been much disfigured by decay.* "Round the top of the square building, and around the low cylinder from which the dome springs, is a narrow band of red-stone, carved in a graceful pattern. Inside are three marble, and one masonry tombs, all much injured."† Adjoining the tomb, to the north, is a range of low masonry buildings, probably the Madrasah of Fíroz Sháh. Syud Ahmed Khán states that within the tomb of Fíroz Sháh are also buried Nasr-uddín Mahammad Sháh, the son of Fíroz Sháh Tughlaq and 'Alá-uddín Sikandar Sháh, the son of Nasr-uddín.

Around the royal tomb are numerous open monuments of the common form of domes resting on pillars; in one of these tombs are the graves of Shaháb-uddín Táj Khán and Sultan Abús'aíd, *amirs* of the time of Sikandar Lodí, and an inscription, of which the following is an English translation:

"This building was erected in the time of the sovereignty of the great king, Sikandar Sháh, Sultan, may God perpetuate his kingdom, his sovereignty, and exalt his command and his prestige. This dome (was) built by Shaikh Shaháb-uddín Táj Khán and Sultan Abú-s'aíd on the 9th of Ramzan, 906 (Hijrí)."

* English translation of the inscription . . "God, Muhammad is his prophet . . ordered; (and) was built in ten months, in the time of the reign of the king of kings, Sultan Sikandar, son of the king of kings, Bahlol Sháh. May God preserve his country and his sovereignty, exalt his command . . the king of kings, Sultan Fíroz Sháh, may his dust be sanctified, and Paradise be his resting place . . as (it was) ordered so was (the order) carried out."

If my reading of this inscription is correct, and at the best it is doubtful, the tomb of Fíroz Sháh must have been repaired by Sikandar Lodí, the son of Bahlol Lodí

† Tremlett.

Khizrabad and Khizraki-Gumti.—In the year 82 A. H. (1418 A. D.) Khizr Khán, the first of the Sayyad Kings, the weakest dynasty that ever ruled the Empire of Delhi, founded a city on the banks of the Jumna about one mile to the south-east of Kilokheri, and about twice that distant, in the same direction, from the tomb of Humáyún. No memorial of this city is now in existence, and its very site is open to doubt. It is probable, and Syud Ahmed Khán is of the opinion, that the city of Khizr Khán stood at or near the village of Khizrábád.

In the year 824 A. H. (1424 A. D.) Khizr Khán died at Delhi, and his son and successor, Abúl ·Fateh Mubarak Sháh, built a tomb over the remains of his father, which is popularly known as Khizr-ki-Gumti. Khizr Khán was buried "on the bank of the Jumna," near the village of Okla, about eight miles on the south of Modern Délhi. The identification of this grave with that of the founder of the Sayyad Dynasty is due entirely to tradition, and Syud Ahmed Khán has adopted its authority. Within a walled enclosure, more than three-fourths of which is now in ruins, stands a very common looking square room with an arched door on each of its four sides ; at a short distance from this is a solitary domed cell ; the former is supposed to contain the remains of Khizr Khán.

Mubarakabad and the tomb of Mubarak Shah.—"The Sultan [Mubárak Sháh] had determined to build a city on the bank of the Jumna, and on the 17th of Rabi I. 837 A. H. (31st October 1432 A. D.) The name given to that ill-omened city was Mubárakabád..." He devoted much time and care to the direction of this building...After staying there [Tabarhindh] a few days, he returned in good health and spirits and went to the city of Mubárakabád...When a large army was assembled, the Sultan left the city to begin his march to Hindusthan, and he encamped for a few days at the chabutrah of Sirgah. Thence, he proceeded with only a small escort and without ceremony to Mubárakabád, in order to see the progress of the buildings."* His Hindu Minister, Sarwar-al-Mulk, conspired against the Sultan and Mubárak

* *Tárikh-i-Mubarak Sháhí.*

Shâh was assassinated in his new city by the Hindu hirelings of his Wazir, in the year 837 A. H (1433 A. D.).

The new city, as already stated, was built on the Jumna, and not unlikely near the city of Khizrabad, but the body of Mubárak Shâh was removed to the village of Mubárakpúr, near the mausoleum of Safdar Jang, about five miles to the south of Modern Delhi, and interred there in the tomb which is now known after him.

" This is built in the midst of a large yard, surrounded by a stone battlemented wall. The gates leading into this court have the side posts and lintels of grey-stone, and are oblong in shape except at the top, where the side posts project in the usual fashion. About the actual doorway, is a narrow line of plain blue encaustic tiles, and below two full blown lotus flowers in white marble. A short approach from this gate leads to the tomb itself, a massive octagonal building, constructed of the grey-stone of the country. It stands on a plinth, approached by an ascent of two steps with a sloping way of stone between. The tomb is surrounded by a covered colonnade; the pillars, twenty four in number, stand on the edge of the plinth. These pillars are of a highly peculiar form, being oblong, and so cut as to present the appearance of two oblong shaped pillars joined by a narrow belt; at each corner of the octagon, the outer pillar is strengthened by a buttress of solid stone, which greatly contributes to the general appearance of strength and solidity which characterize the building. The dome springs from a low cylinder ornamented with colour, and with sixteen finials. The dome itself is crowned with an open octagonal lantern of red-stone, around the dome are eight octagonal cupolas resting on low pillars. There is only one door into the tomb, that to the south, which is of similar construction to the one in the outer court. In the space between the lintel of the doorway and the apex of the arch, in which it is set, is a fan-light of lattice work in stone. The other six apertures, except the west one, answer to this south doorway, except that the doorway in their case is filled up with stone lattice work, divided by two horizontal bars of solid stone. The west side is filled up with a handsomely carved *quiblahgah*, also in stone. This niche wall is also carved on the reverse. Above the range of the doors are four arched windows in stone open-work and

over them springs the dome. This is of ample diameter and is painted with belts of colour running diagonally from the bottom up to a circle of colour, which fills the centre. Immediately under the centre of the dome is a tomb of a man, and to the right two women's graves; while in a row nearer the south door, are the tombs of two female, and two male children. All these graves are of stone; but owing to the tomb having been formerly utilized as a dwelling-house, I was unable to discover the stone of which the tombs and the quiblaghah were constructed, but I rather think it was marble. [They are built of marble]. At a short distance to the south-west inside the court-yard stands a three-domed mosque, evidently of the same period. The wall of this building is pierced with five arches resting on low square pillars of grey-stone plainly cut. There is a second row of columns running down the centre of the mosque. . .

"I think the tomb itself affords strong evidence that the tradition [which ascribes it to Mubárak Sháh] is right, and that the name of the site relates to the hapless Sayyad. The shape of the dome, the limited use of encaustic tiles as a decoration, the fashion of the door ornaments, all point to the early part of the fifteenth century as the date of the building, while the costly nature of the tomb, the ample court in which it stands, with its accompanying mosque, seem to place it beyond the means of a mere nobleman, especially at a time when Delhi was at its lowest point of depression. Unless, therefore, there be strong contemporary evidence against it, I am inclined to think that the principal tomb is that of the second Sayyad king."*

The Tomb of Muhammad Shah, the third Sayyad King of Delhi is in the village of Khairpúr, and at a short distance from the tomb of his uncle and predecessor, Mubárak Sháh. For some time Muhammad Sháh successfully defended his capital against the treacherous attacks of his lieutenant, Bahlol Khán Lodí, governor of Dibálpúr; but the King's unpopularity was such, "that there were Amirs at 20 kos from Delhi who shook off their allegiance and made pretensions to inde-

* Tremlett.

pendence." At length, in the year 849 A. H. (1445 A. D.) Muhammad Sháh died, and he was buried in the village of Khairpúr. The tomb of Muhammad Sháh bears such close resemblance to that of Mubárak Sháh, that no special description of it is necessary.

Fergusson gives a beautiful sketch of this tomb in his *History of Architecture*, (Vol. II. p. 653.) "It consists of an octagonal apartment," says he, "about 50 feet in diameter, surrounded by a verandah following the same form, each being ornamented by three arches of the stilted pointed form generally adopted by the Pathans, and it is supported by double square columns, which are almost as universal with them as the form of arch."

The Tomb of Bahlol Lodi.—This tomb was built in 894 A. H. (1488 A. D.) by Sikandar Lodí, the son of Bahlol Lodí, who brought the body of his father from Badhoulí, and buried it here. It stands outside the western wall of the enclosure of the shrine of Nasír-uddín Chirágh Delhi, in a garden known as Judh Bagh; it is 44 feet square, with three arched doors on each side; the pillars of these arches are of red sand-stone, about two feet square and about eight feet high. The spandrels of the arches are ornamented with medallions, over which projects a deep stone weathering, the roof being protected by a heavy stone and masonry embattled parapet, about 18 feet from the floor. The floor of the tomb is paved with red sand-stone, "but the grave-stone of carved stone is still visible; it is now of a dark brown colour, the result I presume of discoloration."† Above the tomb is surmounted by five masonry domes, the centre one being somewhat higher than the rest, and ornamented with vertical flutings.

The tomb is now occupied by the Khádam of Chirágh Delhi's shrine.

Within a few yards of this tomb is a 33 feet square room, the walls of which are covered with perforated red sand-

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* Babar mentions in his Memoirs, that after the conquest of Delhi he visited "the tombs and gardens of Sultan Bahlol and Sultan Sikander" Lodí; it is very likely that the present barren neighbourhood of the tomb was once a garden.

† Tremlett.

stone screens, and it is believed to contain the graves of Bahlol Lodí's ministers. Bahlol Lodí died on his way from Etawah to Delhi; according to the *Taríkh-i-Khán Jahán Lodí*, in the village of Maláwí, but according to the *Taríkh-i-Daudí* in "the town of Jaláli." His corpse was sent to Delhi by his son Nizám Khán, afterwards so well known as Sikandar Lodí.

Panj Burj or The Five Domes.—The village of Kanchanpúr, which is about six miles to the south of Modern Delhi, was given to one Zamarud Khán as a *Jagir* and has sometimes been called Zamarudpúr. In this village is the family burial ground of Zamarud Khán; perhaps, the most renowned members of the family were buried in the five tombs, which are commonly called Panj Burj or The Five Domes. These tombs were built in the reigns of the Lodís, and not unlikely, as Syud Ahmed Khán states, in the reign of Sikandar Lodí, about the year 894 A. H. (1488 A. D).

The first tomb, as you enter the village, is within a 40 feet square enclosure, the walls of which are eleven feet high; there are broken steps in the front wall which lead into the court through a gateway, about 13 feet wide and 15 feet high, the door itself being about four feet wide. The back wall of the court is now levelled with the ground. The tomb, which is an open square room, stands on a plinth about 2 feet from the ground, and consists of a dome resting on twelve sand-stone pillars; from the floor to the roof, which is ornamented with a false embattled parapet and surrounded by a deep stone ledge, it is about 15 feet high; and to the top of the dome it is about 35 feet high. The dome is built of stone and masonry; the graves in this tomb are in ruins. The towers which once stood on the corners of the enclosure are no longer in existence.

The second Burj is an open hexagonal room in a walled enclosure, which is about 50 feet square, and 9 feet from the level of the ground. The room, which stands on a 2 feet high plinth, has a diameter of 15 feet, it is covered by a dome on six stone pillars and is about 22 feet high from

the floor to the top of the masonry dome. The monument in the centre of the tomb was either destroyed or removed.

The third Burj is an open square of 19½ feet, with twelve sand stone pillars supporting a masonry dome ; from the floor to the roof it is 13 feet high, and to the top of the dome it is fully 30 feet high. The dome is built of stone and mortar. In the centre of the tomb is a grave which is covered by a monument of red sand-stone about 4½ feet long, 2½ feet wide and 3 inches high.

The fourth Burj is a more pretentious building ; it is 48 feet square, but has no plinth. From the floor to the roof of the tomb, which is protected by a false embattled parapet, it is 33 feet high, and from the roof to the top of the dome it is 38 feet high ; the dome is made of stone and mortar. There are twenty stone pillars in the tomb, and three doors in each of its four walls. There are six graves in this tomb ; a flight of steps in its south-western wall, takes the visitor to the top of the building.

The fifth Burj is also a walled building, better finished than the rest, and in better preservation. It is a square of 41 feet, and stands on a plinth about 7 feet from the ground. The roof is about 31 feet from the ground, over which stands a dome about 30 feet high. The dome of the tomb is built of masonry and stone, and the rest of the building is of sand-stone. There are three doors, in the northern, southern and eastern walls of the tomb, the roof is supported by 24 stone pillars. There are three graves in the tomb but like the rest of the graves, they are devoid of inscription or ornamention.

Basti Baori, or the Spring of Basti.—Kháwjah Sará Bastí Khán was a eunuch, and a man of importance in the reign of Sikandar Lodí ; he enclosed an extensive piece of ground near the village of Nizám-uddín, and built a large domed gateway, a mosque, a spring and a tomb in it. Syud Ahmed Khán gives the year 894 A. H. (1488 A. D.) as the probable date of the building of this tomb.

The whole place is now more or less in decay. The spring is dry, and was probably 112 feet long and 31 feet wide ; the

rooms, which were once built in the walls of the spring, have since disappeared; with the exception, however, of about three or four rooms in the northern and southern walls which may yet be seen partially buried under debris and earth. The walls of the spring were about 15 feet high, and on the corners of its eastern wall were two open pavilions, about 11 feet square and 14 feet high. The steps which once led to the water, with the exception of about nine broken ones, are now buried under earth.

On the west of the spring is the mosque of Basti Khan It is an oblong of 13 feet by 57 feet, and is 14 feet high from the floor of the enclosure, and 36 feet from the road under its back-wall. The mosque is entered through three arched doors; the door in the centre is much wider than those on its sides; in the side walls of the mosque are steps which lead to the roof.

The gateway is built of stone and mortar; it is a square of 35 feet and stands on a plinth 10 feet high. from the top of the plinth to the roof it is 27 feet high, and' from the roof to the top of the dome it gains 23 feet more, thus giving a total height of 60 feet to the building. On either side of the gateway is a lofty recessed arch, in which a square door is set. On the western side of the gateway, and on either side of the centre recessed arch, is a small arched window. The western face of the gateway is ornamented, though sparingly, with red sand-stone; up to a height of about three feet from the plinth the gateway is faced with grey sand-stone.

Within a few yards of the gateway, on the east, is the tomb of Basti Khan. It is 46 feet square and about 15½ feet high; originally, there were arched cells 9 feet deep on its four sides, five on the north, south and west, and only two on the east, one on either side of the two flights of steps which lead to the roof of the building. With the exception of two cells, the rest of the southern corridor is down. The centre room, about 22 feet square, enclosed by the cells, contains the grave of Basti Khan; with the exception of those on the east, the cells communicate with one another through openings in the inner walls.

Two flights of 12 steps each, from opposite sides, meet in the middle of the top of the eastern wall of the tomb. The roof of the tomb is entered through a red stone gateway and in its centre is a platform raised by three steps, over which stands an open 21 feet square room, surmounted by a dome supported by twelve stone pillars. The dome is about 27 feet from the platform and about 44 feet from the ground. On each of the four corners of the terrace there is an open 7 feet square pavilion, the dome of which was supported by four pillars and was about 15 feet high. Of these pavilions three may yet be seen; that on the south-western corner has disappeared altogether. The masonry monument over the grave of Basti Khan is now a pile of broken stone and mortar covered by the dome of the centre pavilion.

Moth-ki-Masjid.—This mosque was built near the grave of Mubarak Sháh, the second Sayyad King of Delhi, in the reign of Sikandar Sháh Lodí, and in the year 894 A. H. (1488 A. D.) A large well was also sunk close to the mosque, and an inscription was put in it on red sand-stone, which has suffered much from efflorescence and of which the following is a translation in English:—

[This] mosque in the reign of...Majesty...Sultan [like] Solomon,
[Si] kandar Sháh, son of Bahlol Sháh Lodí, may
God perpetuate his reign .....
[Si] kandar.....

The gateway of this mosque, which Syud Ahmed Khán believes was a very remarkable building, is now unhappily in a hopeless state of decay. Tradition gives a very curious account of the origin of the name of the mosque: it is said that, once upon a time, a poor man picked up a grain of *Moth* (pulse) which he sowed in the earth and vowed to devote its produce to a charitable purpose; season after season this was multiplied, till the produce of several harvests were large enough to defray the costs of this mosque.

It is a good specimen of the style of architecture which was common in the time of the Lodis. The mosque, which stands on a spacious terrace about 6 feet high, is an oblong of 130 feet by 30 feet; its height, from the terrace to the top of the centre dome, is 60 feet. It consists of a row of five rooms, each having

an arched entrance in front; the centre doorway is set in a lofty recessed arch. The pilasters of these arches are ornamented with small recessed arches, there being eight such arches, one above another, and five on those of the side arches. The removal of the stone facings of the centre arch from different places, in the pilasters of the centre arch, has disfigured its general appearance. The roof of the mosque is surmounted by three domes, one being over the centre room, and one each over the corner rooms. The domes are neither large nor graceful; they are made of stone and mortar, and stand on narrow necks in the approved Lodí style. The side domes are in a very dilapidated state. The side entrances are lower than the main entrance of the mosque which is in the centre, and are sheltered by a deep stone ledge resting on plain corbels, but very little of this now remains. "The face," says Mr. Beglar, "was likewise adorned by coloured plaster medallions; the material used is rubble and plaster, but some of the ornamented parts, the pillars at the jambs, &c., are of cut stone; marble was used for the bands of inscriptions in the gateway; these bands were both plain and coloured; if color was used in the interior, all trace of it is lost by a layer of soot, but outside and in the gateway the colors used are green, blue, red, both the red sand stone and red colour, white, black and possibly yellow; the enclosure wall is arcaded in the outside and also inside." There are steps on the northern and southern walls of the mosque leading to the roof.

The mosque, I regret to add, is still in the possession of the villagers of Mubarakpur, who have disfigured its inner walls with their cooking places, and the mud partitions which have cut up the mosque into small rooms.

The Tomb of Langar Khan.—This monument stands near the village of Khairpur, and was probably built, as Syud Ahmed Khán states, in the year 900 A. H. (1494 A. D.) in the reign of Sikandar Lodí; Langar Khan was an Amir of the court of Sikandar Lodí. The tomb is only remarkable for its unimpressive solidity; it stands on the west of a terrace about 8 feet high, and 70 feet square; the tomb itself is about 43 feet square and 66 feet high; on each of its four corners

stood a lofty domed room, about 18 feet square and 40 feet high; the room on the north-western corner is only traced by its ruins; that on the north-eastern corner has lost its dome. There were graves in the corner rooms; one grave in the last mentioned room is still in existence.

The room containing the grave of Langar Khán is about 33 feet high from the floor to the parapet of the roof, and another 33 feet from the roof to the top of the dome. It has three doors on each of its three sides; the western wall contains three recessed arches in the form of the *Qiblehgah* of a mosque. There are three graves in this room; that of Langar Khán, the largest in size, is near the western wall; it is built of stone and mortar, and is 13 feet long, 9 feet broad and 8 feet high.

In the centre of the terrace of the mosque is an open pavilion of twelve sand-stone pillars, supporting a masonry dome. This pavilion is about 23 feet square; it is 16 feet high from the floor of the court to the roof of the room, and from the roof to the top of the dome it gains another 16 feet. The whole of the tomb and its surrounding buildings are made of stone and mortar, and the outer walls are cased with plaster; it is a very poor specimen of the Lodí style of monumental architecture.

Tin Burj or The Three Domes.--These tombs stand within a few yards of Moth-ki-Masjid, on the left of the road from Modern Delhi to the Qutb Minár, and close to the mausoleum of Safdar Jang. They are built of stone and mortar and may be seen from the road already referred to. The names popularly given to these tombs of Bare Khán, Chote Khán and Kale Khán, are inventions of some rustic genius which I am not willing to accept, but I agree with Syud Ahmed Khán that they belong to the Lodí period and were very likely built about the year 900 A. H. (1494 A. D.)

The centre tomb is twice the size of the tombs on its sides; they are all square buildings with domes springing out of narrow cylinders; the roofs are protected by low ornamented parapets, having on each of its four corners a small open pavilion. The corner pavilions of one of the smaller tombs have disappeared. On each of the four faces of the tomb is a

lofty recessed arch, in which a door is set. Above the range of these arches the walls of the tomb have smaller recessed arches, which are intended to relieve the monotony of heavy looking plastered walls ; about two feet over the doorway the wall is pierced by a small arched window.

Rajon-ki-Ba-in.—This spring was built by Daulath Khán, an Amír of the court of Sikandar Lodí, in the year 922 A. H. (1516 A. D.) ; it stands to the south of the tomb of Adham Khán and to the south-west of the Qutb Minár, within five minutes walk of both these places. The spring is supposed to have been, at one time, occupied by stone-masons (Ráj), and hence called Rájon-ki-Ba-in or the Mason's Spring. On the north of the spring there are stone steps which lead down to the water. I have been able to count only 66 steps, 57 above and 9 under water, but the natives of the place believe that there are many more. On the other three sides of the spring there are lofty stone walls, containing four rows of arched rooms, equal in height but unequal in number. The walls are about 77 feet high, and those on the east and west are 108 feet long. In February last, there was only 9 feet of water in the spring, but in the rains it is much deeper, and the lower rooms of the side walls, I am told, have been sometimes under water.

On a level with the top of the western wall of the spring is the court of a mosque, paved with masonry and stone. On this terrace also stands an open pavilion containing a grave ; the mosque is about 77 feet long, 18 feet broad, and 22 feet high ; it has three arched doors, each about 6 feet wide and 9 feet high ; the roof which is perfectly flat, having a deep stone ledge underneath, supported on corbels, is reached by steps in the side walls of the mosque. The whole building is of stone and mortar.

The domed pavilion is a square of 18 feet, and is about 27 feet high ; the dome, which is built of masonry, is supported by 12 stone pillars, the capitals of which are ornamented with red sand-stone. The monument over the grave is built of sand-stone, is about 9 feet long and 6 feet broad, but bears no inscription. The following inscription is engraved in red sand-stone on the southern face of the pavilion :—

" In the reign of the gracious [King], [a] king greater than the

great [kings], with faith in the Merciful : Sikandar Sháh son of Bahlal Sháh, Sultan, may God perpetuate his reign and his kingdom ; [this pavilion was] built by the slave, who hopes for the mercy of the Protector, Khán Daulath, son of Khwájah Muhammad, on the first of the month of Rajab, in the year 922 [Hijri]."

The Tomb of Sikandar Shah Lodi :—On the 7th of Ziq'ad, 923 A. H. (November 1517 A. D.) Sikandar Sháh Lodí died in Agra, and we are told by the author of the *Taríkh-i-Khán Jahán Lodí* that "his coffin was removed to Delhi and deposited there, together with that of his father, in a garden which Islám Sháh Súr had enclosed and prepared for the purpose." There is evidently a mistake in the latter portion of this account, as Sikandar Lodí was not buried near his father, and it would require a very strong imagination to place the two graves in the same garden.

About a quarter of a mile from the tomb of Safdar Jang, close to an ancient stone bridge, stands the mausoleum of this "the greatest of the Lodís," and was probably built in the year 923 A. H. (1517 A. D.) by his son Ibrahím Sháh Lodí. This tomb closely resembles in style that of the Sayyad King, Mubarak Sháh, but the small open pavilions round the centre dome are wanting in the former, while the increased perpendicularity of its dome indicates a somewhat later period.

The tomb stands in a battlemented walled enclosure, about 264 feet square; the corners were supported by octagonal towers, only two of which are now in existence. The walls are 8 feet thick and about 23 feet high, the main entrance of the enclosure is through a gate in the southern wall. "This gate is protected by a square (sand-stone) outwork in front (about 66 feet by 52 feet) ; the means of egress being by turning to the right and passing through an aperture in the west side of this advanced work, the south side being a continuous wall. At each end of this last-named wall, are two cupolas adorned with encaustic tiles and supported on red stone pillars."*

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* Tremlett.

In the middle of the western enclosure wall is a wall-mosque, the centre arch of which is about 65 feet high and 39 feet wide; the side arches are comparatively insignificant.

After giving a full description of the tomb of Mubarak Sháh, it is hardly necessary to do the same with the tomb of Sikandar Lodí; I have already noticed the fact, that there are no small open pavilions round the centre dome of the latter tomb.

The Mosque and Tomb of Jamali.—Shaikh Fazl-ulláh, *alias* Jalál Khán, but better known by his *nom de plume* of Jamálí, was a great traveller, a man of literary fame and a poet whom kings delighted to honour. He was the favorite of four successive rulers of Delhi; he was in the height of his fame in the reign of Sikandar Lodí, and died in that of Humáyún, still standing high in royal favour. "His power of debate in the assembly of religious men was acknowledged by all, and even the learned submitted to his authority." In the year 935 A. H. (1528 A. D.), he built a mosque and a room—afterwards his tomb—in the old village of Qutb Sáhib, and the ruins of the village may yet be seen in their neighborhood. Jamálí accompanied Humáyún to Gujrat, where he died on the 10th of Ziqa'd, in the year 942 A. H. (1535 A. D.); his body was brought to Delhi and interred in the room which he had occupied as a dwelling during his life-time. The mosque and the tomb are in two adjoining walled courts; and in the northern wall of the mosque, which is the southern wall of the tomb, is a door-way now closed

The court of the mosque is about 120 feet long and 70 feet broad; it is now entered through its eastern wall, but this entrance appears to me to be quite a modern alteration. Its original gateway was in the southern wall, which has now been cut off by a new wall which unites the eastern with the western wall. The mosque of Jamálí bears close resemblance to Moth-ki Masjid, with only this difference that, while the former has only one dome the latter has three. The dome of Jamálí's mosque is in the later Lodí style. The body of the building is 120 feet long and 27 feet wide; from the floor of the mosque to its roof it is 32 feet high, and from the roof to the top of the dome it gains 10 feet more.

There are five arched doors to the mosque; the centre arch, which is recessed about 2 feet deep into the face of the wall, is 30 feet high and 15 feet wide; the capitals of the pilasters from which the arch springs are of red sand-stone, tastefully engraved, but whether they ever rose above the level of the roof it is impossible to say; the inner edge of the arch is ornamented with fretwork, and the spandrels are decorated with ornamental bosses. The rectangular bands which enclose the arch are of marble and red sand-stone. Under the apex of the arch, in the wall which contains the centre door of the mosque, there is a small arched opening with a stone bracket for its base. About three or four feet under this window is the centre door referred to; it is about 14 feet high and 10¼ feet wide, and is also enclosed by rectangular bands of marble and red sand-stone having bosses in the spandrels.

On either side of the centre arch there are two side arches, about 12 feet high and 10 feet wide. The roof over the centre arch is fully 8 feet higher than the roofs over the side arches. In the pilasters of the extreme side arches there are two, 3 feet high but shallow, recessed arches; the lower arches in the outer pilasters are open and contain steps which lead to the roof of the mosque. The spandrels of the minor arches are also ornamented with bosses, and like the rest of the face of the mosque, are cased with grey and red sand-stone.

The mosque is paved with sand-stone. In each of the five rooms the western wall contains a high recessed arch with a niche in it; these niches are ornamented with marble bands and engravings. The centre room supports the dome of the mosque; its ceiling is arched, while those of the side rooms are flat. The centre room is a square, but above a certain height from the floor it becomes an octagon from which the dome springs; the corners of this room are cut off with beautifully engraved pendentives.

Heavy stone brackets stand out from the back wall of the mosque, and are intended to relieve its blank expanse.

To the north of the mosque, and in the north-western corner of a court, about 70 feet square,—with embattled walls about 10 feet high—is the tomb of Mauláná Jamálí. The

walls are built of grey stone and mortar; the court-yard is entered through a low doorway in its northern wall; there are small arched niches in the walls all round, those in the western wall are generally open. In the south-western corner of the enclosure is a room which was evidently intended for the attendant of the tomb; here also is the door which communicated with the mosque, and which is now closed. To the east of the tomb of Jamálí is an open domed pavilion in which there are several graves.

The grave of Jamálí is in a room; 25 feet square 16 feet high, and has a door in its southern wall. Over the door, which is set in a narrow arch, and all round the building, is a deep stone ledge supported by a series of plain corbels; underneath this, but not covered by the ledge, an enamelled band goes round the room. The parapet round the flat roof is also ornamented with fancy designs in bright colours. On either side of the door is a narrow recessed arch; half way round the top of these arches, are small niches built for lamps.

The floor of the room is paved with white marble bordered with bands of black marble. In the centre of the western wall is a small recessed arch intended for a mosque. In the northern and the eastern walls there are red stand-stone screens for the admission of light and air. On either side of these screens, of the door and the recessed arch in the western wall, there are two feet square niches. The ceiling of the room, which is flat, is beautifully, but rather profusely painted in bright colours. The grave of Jamálí is in the centre of the room; on its right is another grave supposed to be that of one Kamálí, a brother of Jamálí, but for this statement I have not been able to find any authority. There is room for a third grave on the left of the grave in the centre. The two graves are of marble, beautifully polished but flat and without any ornament or inscription.

The Tomb of Imam Zaman, *alias* **Imam Muhammad-Alí**, is also known as the tomb of Sayyad HasanPaí Minár.—Muhammad 'Alí came to Delhi from Turkistan, in the reign of Sikandar Lodí, and is supposed to have held an official position in connexion with the Masjid Quvvat-ul-islám. He built this tomb during his life-time, and was buried in it after

his death. The tomb is a very pretty domed room; it is in very fair order, and is built within ten yards of the 'Alaí Gate. It is about 24 feet square, and from the floor to the top of the pinnacle it is 54 feet high. There are three screens of lattice work in three out of its four walls: in its southern wall is the entrance, the frame of which is of marble; and on either side of it is a screen corresponding with those on the opposite side. The screens are of red-stone and are supported by twelve pillars, inclusive of those in the four corners. The capitals and bases of these pillars are tastefully carved; over the capitals are corbels which support a stone ledge which goes round the room. About four feet above this is the ornamental parapet of the roof. The dome is of red sand-stone but covered with plaster and is occasionally whitewashed; it is low but very graceful, stands on an octagonal cylinder of a larger diameter than itself. The monument on the grave, which is also of marble, is seven feet long, about four feet wide and eighteen inches high; it is of very simple construction. At the head of the grave is a lamp-stand of red-stone about 2 feet high. There is an inscription over the doorway.*

The Grave and Mosque of Qutb Sahib—Bakhtyár, surnamed Qutb-uddín Bakhtyár Kákí of Ush, is one of the most revered names in the history of the religious sects of the Indo-Muhammadan world. He was the friend and disciple of M'uín-uddín Chistí, and next to him, perhaps, the greatest Chistí saint of India. He followed the advanced guard of the Muhammadan conquerers of Delhi, and accompanied

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* English translation of the inscription: "In the name of God, the merciful and the compassionate!

The stated prayers of praise [of God] and supplication may for ever be offered by the residents of the pure courtyard [Heaven], and the residents of the pure tomb, [of Muhammad] as a sacrifice to God. The friends of His [sacred] house having sacrified this world and the next in His path, and made the treasures of life and of the heart a] sacrifice to the crest of His House. [May] more praise reach the sweetly scented grave, and the illuminated grave of the Intercessor [Muhammad] on the day of Judgment, and [over the graves] of his pure descendants and his friends. A pure heart and the strength of Fate are friends of the Hazrath, the guide of men, Muhammad, of the descent of Safwí Muhammad 'Alí of the sect of Hasan, of the family of Hosain, selected from among the holy Sayyads; and selected from among the pure; a Jesus of the world of recluse and asceticism; a Moses of the Mountain."

his great master to the Masjid Aulíá to thank Providence for the success of the Faithful over the Idolators.*

The history of no political success or disaster is associated with the name of Qutb Sáhib ; he was pre-eminently a man of peace, and, although, on the authority of the *Sair-ul-Aqtáb*, he seems to have lived on terms of enmity with Muhammad Ghorí, he was the spiritual guide and trusted friend of Altamsh, in whose reign he achieved the greatest amount of missionary success, and in whose reign he died at the comparatively early age of 52. In the reign of Qutb-uddín Aibek, he first acquired fame as a religious leader, and such was his sanctity, that when he died, which is supposed to have occurred in a reverie, on the 14th of Rabí I, 633 A. H. (1236 A. D.), his funeral rites was performed by Sultan Altamsh, " who was never late at a single prayer, nor did he neglect one."

Qutb Sáhib was the son of Sayyad Musa, a native of Ush in Mawar-ul-nahr; he married at Delhi, and two of his sons are buried within the walls which contain his own remains. The saint Kháwjah-Khizr, who still " regulates the weather and the price current of grains," appeared to him in a dream, and gave him the power of prophecy; a gift of which, unlike one of his proud successors, Nizam-uddín, he evidently made no great use. He lived and died a popular priest, and the honour paid to his remains by the king is not to be compared to the honours that are daily paid to his memory by his tollowers.

From his dying bed, Qutb Sáhib sent his cloak and staff to his disciple Faríd Shakrganj, at Pák Patan, near Multan. It is related, that when Mu'ín-uddín Chistí visited Delhi, his friend and disciple Qutb Sáhib expressed a wish to accompany M'uin-uddín to Ajmir; but no sooner was this wish generally known, than the people of Delhi begged of M'uin-uddín that Qutb Sáhib may be allowed to live among them " for their welfare and the honour of their city." " Out of respect for the unanimous desire of such a large body of men, the

* Accordir g to the author of the *Sair-ul-Aqtáb*, Qutb Sáhib arrived in Delhi in the year 584 A. H. (1188 A. D.) fully three years before the conquest of that place by the Muhammadans ;—one of the mistakes in chronology of such constant occur rence in native histories.

prayer was granted," and Qutb Sáhib lived and died at Delhi; and was buried among the people, who are still so warmly attached to his memory. The grave of Qutb Sáhib has always been held in great veneration, and it is related by Ahmad Yádgár in his *Tarikh-i-Salátín-i-Afaghánah,* that before Himun, the Hindu general of 'Adil Sháh Súr, marched out of Delhi to meet the Moghal army, "he went to the sanctified mausoleum of the Qutb-ul-Aktáb, the polar star of religion and piety, . . he vowed that if he were destined to conquer Delhi, if the throne of Delhi were granted him and the Moghal troops put to flight, he would become a Mussulman."

When the news of Qutb Sáhib's death reached Pák Patan, Shaikh Faríd Shakrganj came to Delhi and covered the grave of the saint with earth, "which he himself brought from the Hauz Shamsí." This is the only covering of the grave; to this day it is a mound of earth, white-washed with lime, and a piece of white cloth is spread over it. In the year 948 A. H. (1541 A. D.) in the reign of Sher Sháh, one Khalíl-ullah Khán built an extensive wall round the grave, and a gate on the north of the enclosure, which bears an inscription.* Ten years later in the year 958 A. H. (1551 A. D), in the reign of Salím Sháh, one Yúsuf Khán built another gate which is the present main entrance of the tomb.† Through this gateway, you enter a lane about 40 yards long, formed by the back walls of houses and the walls of courtyards. At the end of this lane there are six stone steps which lead to a raised but not lofty arched

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* English translation of the inscription :—

"In the reign of the sun of the world of prosperity, Sher Sháh,
Sultan, of the crescent standard, the starlike army, and sky like excellent slaves;
This grand tomb, within the doors of which
Is verified, the saying :—This is the door of the house of prosperity,
In the year 948 of Hijri, was
Built, under the superintendence of the Shaikh, the cherisher of religion Khalíl-ul-Haq."

† English translation of the inscription on the gate :—

"In the reign of the King of the world [and of] Islám,
This gate was elevated to the dignity of the sky;
Although there are a hundred gates in Paradise,
There is no gate like this gate.
It was built by a Shaikh, to whom
The title of a second Yúsuf [Joseph] was given by God;
When I asked its name and date,
[He] said [it is] The Dargah of Khwájah Aqtáb."

stone gateway built by Mauláná Fakhr-uddín, a man of some consequence in the reign of Shah 'Alam ; the gateway has on one side three rooms and on the opposite side a single room for the convenience of the attendants of the tomb.

On the right of the visitor, before he enters this gateway, is a walled enclosure, about 57 feet long and 54 feet broad ; on the west of the enclosure is a small mosque with three arches, and in front of the mosque is the grave-yard of the family of the late Nawáb of Jhajjar. The most important grave here is that of Nijábath 'Alí, the first Nawáb of Jhajjar, to whom Lord Lake, on behalf of the British Government, granted this principality as a Jagir. It is covered by a plain marble tomb, about 3 feet high and 10 feet square ; the grave of Nijábath 'Alí's wife is also under this tomb. At the head of these graves there is a marble tomb of the same size as that over Nijábath 'Ali but with the addition of a dwarf perforated marble parapet round it, and a head stone which bears the date 1250 A. H. (1843 A. D.) It is built over the remains of Faiz Muhammad Khán, the son of Nijábath 'Alí. On the right of this tomb is another tomb of marble which resembles the grave of Faiz Muhammad, but wants the marble parapet and the head stone of the others, and it is built over the grave of Faiz 'Alí Khán, the father of Abdul Rahman Khán, the last Nawáb of Jhajjar. Abdúl Rahmán Khán was hanged for his complicity in the rebellion of 1857, and his body was disposed of by the orders of Government as that of a common felon.

As you enter the inner court of the tomb, through the gateway of Mauláná Fakhr-uddín, you come to an open stone-paved court ; at a distance of about 20 yards in front is an oblong doorway set in a high wall, and to your right is an arched gateway ;* nearer to your right and before you reach the arched gateway, is another enclosure about 35 feet square, the walls are of red-stone, ten feet high, and surmounted by

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* English translation of the inscription on the gate :—

" Mankind used to gather pearl in this Treasury of Fortune.
After all Shakar Khán threaded the pearls of supplication.
I asked [of myself] what shall I write as its date ?
Rizwan [gardener of Paradise] said to my heart :--The secrets of the gate of Paradise."

an open balustrade about 2 feet high.* Within this enclosure is the grave of Mu'atmad Khán, a eunuch of the court of Aurangzeb; his original name was Khwájah Nur, and he was successively commandant of the forts of Gwalior and Agra. The enclosure is entered through an arched doorway having an inscription over its lintel.† The tomb over the grave is of very plain construction, and made of marble; it is about 3 feet high and stands on a masonry plinth about 3 feet from the ground. On the west of the enclosure is a mosque with five arches, about 29 feet long and 8 feet deep, with a stone pavement in front, of the length of the mosque and about 5½ feet wide. There are four other graves in the enclosure which belong to the family of Mirza Ilahí Baksh of Nizám-uddín.

Turning to your left and passing under the oblong gateway, you enter a stone paved lane, about 58 feet long and 6 feet wide, with a slope from its northern to its southern end of fully 4 feet. On your right is the marble wall of the enclosure of the grave of Qutb Sáhib, and on your left is the back wall of his mosque. At the end of this lane is a marble gateway, and on its right is a marble monument about 4 feet from the level of the lane, which stands over the grave of Mauláná Fakhr-uddín. The marble gateway has an inscription on it of the reign of Farokhsir.‡ Turning to

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* The marble monument over the grave of Sir Theophilus Metcalfe in St. James' Church yard, in Delhi, is said to have been originally purchased for the Jhajjar dormitory, but the rebellion of 1857 intervened, and the events which followed placed this Muhammadan tomb over a Christian grave.

† English translation of the inscription on the gateway :—

"In the reign of the Revealer of Faith, Sháh Alamgír Múhí-uddín,
Whose justice has created life and body in the cradle of peace,
Mu'atmad Khán became the dust of the feet of Sháh Qutb-uddín,
Whose auspicious blessing gives hope of the blessing of God;
From the light of his presence, every body receives light.
May the last day be like the light of the moon, illuminated by the light of his forehead;
O God, forgive him [Mu'atmad Khán] for the sake of his [Qutb Sáhib feet, which are near him [Mu'atmad Khán.]
Illumine his spirit with the light of the saint [Qutb] of God.
When I asked for the date of this building from the angels,
The answer came: O God, forgive [him] on the last day [1084 A. H.]"

‡ English translation of the inscription on the gateway :—

"God. Muhammad. Abubakr. 'Omar. 'Osman. 'Ali. God.
By the command of the King of the world, [and] of the People,
Farokhsir, Emperor, whose slaves are the nine firmaments;

your right, at a distance of about 30 feet on your right, is the southern wall of the enclosure of Qutb Sáhib's grave; it is made of marble and contains four perforated screens. Before you enter the second marble gateway, on your left, is a small dormitory containing the graves of the family of the Nawábs of Banda. Three of the graves are of marble, and are profusely but beautifully ornamented with embossed scrolls, fancy patterns and flowers. The bodies of the Nawábs of Banda used to be sent to Mahrauli for burial, but since the rebellion of 1857 this practice was put a stop to.

Passing under the second marble gateway, and turning to your right, you enter an enclosure the eastern and the southern walls of which I have already described.* It is an irregular oblong of 98 feet by 57 feet; about three-fourths of its western wall is covered with encaustic tiles, the rest of its western and its northern walls are built of stone and masonry; in the northern corner of the western wall is a wall-mosque, ornamented with encaustic tiles, and is said to have been built by Faríd Shakr Ganj when he visited the grave of Qutb Sáhib; the side arches of this mosque are irregularly built, as regards their distances from the centre arch.

The grave is enclosed by wooden railings, about 21 feet square and 2 feet high; as already stated, the grave is covered with earth and a piece of white cloth is spread over it to conceal it from profane eyes. Within a few feet of this grave are laid the remains of Táj-uddín-Ushí, of Sayyad Ahmad and Sayyad Muhammad, the sons of Qutb Sáhib, of Badr-uddín Ghaznaví, Imam-uddín of Abdál and many others; puritanic and severe men with whom faith was a great reality.

Round the grave of the chief of the Faith, the Polar star of the nine firmaments,—
That the angels and mankind [may] go round his grave.—
A tomb beautiful and well arranged, this wall was built,
Which is like the exalted Qablah, and is like the dignified Ka'bah."

*English translation of the inscription on the gateway :—

"God. Muhammad. Abúbakr. 'Omar. 'Osmán. 'Alí. God.
By the efforts of the worst of the King's slaves,
Firm in his confidence [in the King], tried and found not wanting;
The Angels went into the land of the Paradise of Eden,
They found its date : The fort of the Paradise of Eden.
Finished in the 7th year of his reign in the year 1130 Hijrí,
By the lowest of the slaves of Farokhsir, written by 'Abdulláh Ashraf."

On your right, after you have passed the first marble gateway of Farokhsir and at a distance of ten yards from you, are the graves of other friends and relatives of Qutb Sáhib. A little further on is a marble platform about 4 feet high and 11 feet square, with a dwarf marble perforated parapet ; on this platform are placed two beautiful marble monuments, one over the grave of the infamous Zabtah Khán, who so effectually helped in the ruin of the Delhi Empire, and whose son Gholám Qádir acquired a reputation even more infamous than that of his father ; and the other over the consort of Zabtah Khán.

As you again turn to your right and walk over a masonry floor, almost parallel to the lane already described, you come to the mosque of Qutb Sáhib.

The Mosque of Qutb Sahib is a very ordinary looking building, about 33 feet long and 21 feet wide. It consists of three arches ; the back wall of the mosque, with the usual recessed arches, is supposed to have been built of mud by Qutb Sáhib himself. A row of three arched rooms was added to this wall in the reign of Salím Sháh, 958 A. H. (1551 A. D.), and a second similar addition was made by Farokhsir in the year 1130 A. H. (1717 A. D.) The following inscription occurs on the face of the mosque :—

"The object of the confidence [Mu'ataqid] and mercy of the Exalted Majesty,*
King Farokhsir, Emperor, master of the neck [of the people] :
Built, with a clean heart and firm faith,
[This] Masjid—beautiful in form and a place of worship [both] for the old and the young.
The voice of the invisible whispered into the ears of thought ;
The year and day of its building: The accepted abode of my God."

Moti Masjid of Mahrauli.—Walking through the passage formed by the northern wall of the grave of Qutb Sáhib, and the southern wall of that of Mu'atmad Khán, you enter another enclosure through the western gate of the Dargah.* To your left is the Motí Masjid, built in the year 1121

* The name of the builder of the mosque was Mu'ataqid Khán.

A. H. (1709 A. D.) by Sháh Alam Bahádur Sháh, the eldest son of Aurangzeb. The pavement in front of the mosque is ornamented with the usual "carpet" pattern in black and white marble; it is 45 feet long and 15 feet wide. The plinth of the mosque is about 2 feet high; the mosque itself is about 45 feet long and 13 feet deep. It consists of three rooms with arched entrances; on either side of the mosque there is an outer room; the room attached to the outer room on the north of the building is a recent addition. The original side rooms communicate with the mosque through doors in the inner walls. The mosque is built of white marble and ornamented with bands and stripes of black marble. The roof of the mosque is surmounted by three marble domes, striped vertically with narrow bands of black marble and with pinnacles of white marble. The western wall of the mosque contains the usual recessed arches. The roof of the mosque and the side rooms are protected by battlemented parapets. Tapering marble minarets, about six feet high, flank the centre arch, the side arches, and the side rooms, thus forming a row of six minarets, of which those on either side of the centre arch are higher than the rest. On the back wall of the mosque there are only four minarets, one on each of the corners and one on either side of the centre dome. The pinnacle on one of the side domes is still to be seen; those on the remaining domes were either destroyed or removed. There is no pulpit in the mosque.

In the southern wall of the court of the mosque, raised by five steps, is a masonry doorway which leads into an enclosure formed, on the east and the west, by masonry walls, on the south by arched rooms, and on the north by a marble walled court which contains the graves of three of the Emperors of Delhi. Adjoining this court is a piece of ground partially enclosed—the burial place of some of the consorts of the Emperors, and of other members of the Imperial family of Delhi.

The pavement of the northern court is of marble; it is 6 feet long and 21 feet wide, and the marble wall is ten feet high; the entrance is in the western corner of the southern wall.

The Grave of Akbar II.—The nearest grave as you enter this enclosure is that of Akbar II. The tomb over it is of black marble covered with verses from the Qurán and the Muhammadan creed, both tastefully embossed. This tomb once stood over the grave of one Qásim 'Alí Herví, and bears the following inscription :—

" The death of Khwájah Qásim Alí Herví 656 " (Hijrí.)

The white marble base of the tomb is 5 feet 8 inches long, 2 feet 3 inches broad, and 1 foot 8 inches high. The tomb itself is 5 feet long, 1 foot 7 inches wide and 1 foot 5 inches high.

On the top of the tomb is engraved the Muhammadan creed, and at the head the Bismalláh ; on the left of the tomb is the following verse from the poet S'adí :—

He who has come to this world shall perish ! Thou livest !
He who is destined to last and is immortal, must be God. Thou art immortal !

On the right of the grave is the following verse :—

Do not fix your heart on any other being but God ! Thou art merciful !
Because your very limbs will (one day) be divided from one another. The Benevolent.

At the head of the tomb is an upright head-stone of marble, about 2½ feet long and 2 feet wide, in which the following inscription is inlaid with black marble:—

Sháh Akbar, the giver of light to the world
Was eclipsed, like the full moon, by death,
Of the date [of his death] Zafr [Victory] said :*
The empyrean of Heaven is the resting place of the exalted in dignity. (1253 A. H., 1837 A. D.)

The Grave of Shah Alam.—To the left of the tomb of Akbar II. is that of his father, the unfortunate Sháh 'Alam. Between the two tombs a place was reserved for a third grave by Bahádur Sháh, the son and successor of Akbar II, but the events of 1857 necessitated the deposition of Bahádur Sháh, and his banishment to Rangoon, where he died.

The tomb of Sháh 'Alam is of white marble, and is erected on a slab of the same material ; the former is about 1 foot and 8 inches wide, 6 feet long and about 2 feet high ; the latter is about 2 feet 4 inches wide and about 7 feet long.

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* Zafr was the *nom de plume* of his son, Bahádur Sháh, the last King of Delhi.

On the head-stone of the tomb is the following inscription :—

He is the forgiver and the rewarder! May He make paradise
His (Sháh 'Alam) residence ; (for) He is very benevolent.
The bestower of exalted dignity has set under the dust.

Alas! [it has] gone down in the gloom [caused] by the eclipse of death ;

Sháh 'Alam, the Protector of Mankind, has
Left this world for the pleasure-ground of Eden.
O Sayyad, my miracle-working pen has written
A verse in each line of which will be found the date of [his death :]
He was the sun of the earth before [his death],
He is now a sun under the earth. Alas! Alas!
1221 [Hijrí] written by Mír Kalan Rizví.

On the head of the monument is engraved the Muhammadan creed, on its sides verses from the Qurán, containing some of the attributes of the Almighty ; on the top of the tomb is a well known verse from the Qurán, which ascribes immortality to God and mortality to man.

The Grave of Shah 'Alam Bahadur Shah.—On the left of the grave of Sháh 'Alam is that of Sháh 'Alam Bahádur Sháh, the eldest son of Aurangzeb, and by far the ablest of those who contended for the empire of Delhi on the death of the Emperor. He inflicted signal defeats on the Sikhs, and did more to impair the rising power of the Mahrattas than did his father, who commanded the undivided resources of the empire. Bahádur Sháh died at an advanced age, and his son and successor, Jahándár Sháh, built the marble walls which enclose his grave, and the graves of three of his descendants. At the head of his grave, on the marble wall, is the following inscription :—

"According to the [promise of the] Prophet, may Sháh 'Alam be rewarded with Heaven for his good intentions. Gholám Haráth Khán, 1124 Hijrí."

The fourth grave within this enclosure is that of Mírza Fakhrú, the eldest son of Bahádur Sháh, who died of cholera in Delhi. The monument on the grave is of marble ; it is about 6 feet long and 2 feet broad, and is surrounded by a marble railing about 3 feet high.

On the west of this enclosure, there are eight marble tombs; the following inscription occurs on the head-stone of one of them :—

"Sháha'bádí : the Moon ! with a forehead like that of Venus.
By death her abode was made under the earth.
I searched for the date [of her death] and the voice of the Invisible said :

She has gone to Eden for her pure life.

The Baoli or Spring of Qutb Sahib.—About 25 yards to the east of the mosque of Qutb Sáhib is a deep spring of water, the buildings round which were erected in the year 1846 by Háfiz Muhammad Dáúd, a servant and favorite of Bahádur Sháh, for the use of the *Khádams* of the tomb. It is built in the style of the springs of Nizám-uddín and Daulath Khán. It is 96 feet long, 42 feet wide and 75 feet deep; the water in the spring is usually 40 feet deep, and sometimes deeper, and is reached by steps on the west and south of the building. On the west is the main entrance of the spring, through double-storeyed arched rooms. The walls on the east, north and south, have three tiers of recessed arches and arched rooms 9 feet high and 7 feet wide, varying in number and in the depth of the recessed space.

Purana Qil'ah or Din Panah.—"The name of Indraprastha is still preserved in that of Indrpat," says General Cunningham, "a small fort, which is also known by the name of *Purana kila* or the old Fort. This place was repaired by the Emperor Humáyún, who changed its name to *Dín Panáh*; but none, save educated Musalmans, ever make use of this name, as the common people invariably call it either Indrpat or Purana Kila." The villagers of Puráná Qila'h pretend to believe that the old buildings, wheresoever they are to be found in the village, except those that are decidedly Muhammadan, are the remains of the capital of the Pándavas. The more popular opinion appears to be, that the walls, and the gates of the fort were built by Humáyún, and that the buildings inside the fort belong to the reign of Sher Sháh Súr, and are about the most perfect specimens of the latest style of Pathan architecture. Against this opinion, however, is the authority of

the writer of the *Taríkh-i-Khán Jahán*, who says, that Salím Sháh Súr, after building the fort of Salímgarh, which was opposite to Dín Panáh, the fort of Humáyún, he ordered a wall to be built round the citadel of the Moghal Emperor.

The following account of the building of Dín Panáh is taken from the *Humáyún Námah* of Khond Amír: "another great work of this just and generous king was the city of Din Panáh, which was really the asylum of religious men. Before building the city, he took counsel with "his great courtiers and learned companions," and expressed to them his intention to found near "the capital of Delhi, a city which was to challenge equality with Satura; that the city should be the asylum of wise and intelligent persons and be called Dín Panáh." The project was highly commended, and one of the learned men present at the time remarked that "the numerical value of the words *Shah-i-pádsháh Dín Panáh*, was 940, and he said that if the city were built in that year it would be a very remarkable fact." From Gwalior, the king went to Agra and thence to Delhi, and after having "taken omens and religious advice, a rising ground adjacent to the banks of the stream of Jumna, about three kos from the city, was selected for the foundation of the city of Dín Panáh.

"In the middle of the month of the sacred Muharram A.H. 940, at an hour which was prescribed by the most clever astrologers and the greatest astronomers," the court accompanied the King to the spot, and prayers were offered to the Almighty. "First, His Majesty with his holy hand put a brick on the earth, and then each person from that concourse of great men placed a stone on the ground; on the same date, work was also commenced in the King's own palace. At this time, *i. e.*, the latter part of the month of Shavval of the same year, the walls, bastions, ramparts and the gates of the city of Dín Panáh are nearly finished."

Thus, within ten months from the laying of the foundation stone of the city, a progress had been made in the work which makes me believe that the ruins of a more ancient city must have helped the workmen, and that "the rising ground" of the historian was very probably the site of a deserted or a ruined city.

Dín Panáh is an irregular oblong of 3 furlongs by 1½ furlongs, the long sides being on the east and the west;

it has three gates ; those on the north and the south are closed, but the gate on the west, which is still the principal entrance of the city, is still open. Besides these gates, there are three *khiukis* or wickets in Dín Panáh : two on the side facing the river, one of which is open, and the third in the western wall of the Qil'ah which is now closed. On each of the four corners of the city there is a formidable looking bastion, and between the two corner bastions in the western wall there are seven bastions including those which flank the gateways. The walls of the city contain two-storeyed cells, which rise to the height of its lofty gateways.*

The two gates worthy of notice are in the northern and the western walls. The former is known as the Talláqí or the *Forbidden* Gate ; it is related that once upon a time, a certain king sallied out of this gate to fight a rebel and vowed he never would enter the city unless he vanquished the enemy. The king fell in battle and the gate was closed for ever. It is a lofty gateway, made of grey and red sand stone, a little over 50 feet high and 24 feet wide, and is flanked by two huge bastions. The high arched door in the centre of the gateway is blockaded up with earth and the debris of the cells behind it; the large arched window over the entrance is also closed up. Over this window there are two heavy brackets, each supporting an open half octagonal pavilion ; the roof of the gate is surmounted by three open pavilions, of which the two smaller ones are a little in advance of the third which is in the centre of the roof. The domes of the smaller pavilions stand on 4 pillars and that of the larger on 8 pillars. The face of this gateway is ornamented with marble bands and bosses, and over the half octagonal pavilions is a slab of marble, yellow with the effects of exposure, and was obviously intended for an inscription.

The principal gateway is not unlike the Talláqí Darwázah; it is quite as lofty, but more massive, and the flanking bastions are larger. Each of these bastions was surmounted by an open octagonal pavilion and ornamented with encaustic tiles ; the pavilion on the left bastion is missing.

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* The upper portion of the wall facing the river is down ; the lower cells are still in existence and are used by the villagers as dwellings for themselves and their cattle ; the top of the wall is protected by embattled balustrades.

About four or five feet over the arch of the door-way is a row of three brackets supporting three half octagonal pavilions; there are no windows over the doorway. The front of the gateway is ornamented with grey and red stone; the half-pavilions were at one time covered with coloured plaster, and a band of encaustic tiles extends under the parapet of the gateway. The third, or the southern, gate is, in every respect, like that on the north.

The village of Indrápat or Dín Panáh is supposed to have been at one time surrounded by the river, and there is a causeway, or bridge, in front of its western gate, the ruined arches of which are still in existence. The river has now receded from its old bank, and the land between the Qil'ah and the present bank is now under cultivation. The walls facing the river are more or less damaged, while those on the land side are also in some places in a damaged state. If, as it is believed, every bastion in the wall was surmounted by a pavilion, these have unfortunately disappeared; those on the gateways, have been already described. Inside the Qil'ah the villagers have built mud and masonry houses, and the only ancient remains of Puráná Qil'ah, besides the walls and the gateways are the well known Jám'a Masjid, or Masjid Qil'ah Kohnah, and the tower known as Sher Mandal, miscalled by de Laët and others, "the palace of Humáyún." Of the palace itself, the foundation of which is so elaborately described in the *Humáyúnnámah*, nothing now remains, and I doubt if it is possible to fix its site.

Sher-garh and Delhi Sher-shahi.—Sher Sháh is said to have strengthened the citadel of Dín Panáh and called it Sher-garh, but as I have already remarked, according to the *Táríkh-i-Khán Jahán*, the walls of Humáyún's fort were rebuilt or repaired by S'alím Sháh, the son of Sher Sháh, after he had completed the building of Salímgarh. Sher-garh was the citadel of the city which Sher Sháh built on a portion of the conjectured site of Indraprastha, and was long known as Delhi Sher-sháhí or the Delhi of Sher Sháh. 'Abbás Khán mentions, in his *Taríkh-i-Sher-sháhi* that, "the former capital city of Delhi, was at a distance from the Jumna, and Sher Sháh destroyed and rebuilt it by the bank of the Jumna, and ordered two forts to be built in that city

. . the smaller fort for the residence of the Governor; the other, the wall round the entire city to protect it; and in the governor's fort he built a Jama' Masjid, . . but the fortifications round the city were not completed when Sher Sháh died." It is, therefore, almost a matter of certainty, that his son Salím Sháh completed the walls of this fort. General Cunningham, who follows the authority of Purchas and Mariner Finch, gives the following boundaries of Delhi Sher-sháhí: "The south gate of Sher Sháh's city must, therefore, have been somewhere between the *Bara Pul* and Humáyún's tomb. The east wall of the city is determined by the line of the high bank of the Jumna, which formerly ran due south from Firoz Sháh's kotila towards Humáyún's tomb. On the west the boundary line of the city can be traced along the bank of a torrent bed, which runs southward from the Ajmer Gate of Sháhjahánabád, and parallel to the old course of the Jumna, at a distance of rather more than one mile. The whole circuit of the city walls was therefore close upon 9 miles, or nearly double that of the modern Sháhjahánabád."

Mr. Tremlett, who objects to the southern limits of the city of Sher Sháh as fixed by General Cunningham, argues as follows:

"My reason for holding this view is, that just opposite the west gate of Puráná Qil'ah stands a gate, now known as the Lal Darwazah, in the same style, though larger and finer than the Lal Darwazah opposite the Jail, which latter is generally admitted to be a north gate of this city. On both sides of this southern gate, are protecting towers and a little of the wall, and their direction is such as to make it inconceivable, especially as Puráná Qil'ah was then standing, that they could have been part of an enceinte including Humáyún's tomb; this argument rests on the narrowness of the space between the gate and the old course of the river compared with the distance southerly to Humáyún's tomb, and also on the fact that the wall to the east of the gate turns northward and not southward. If too, I be right in identifying the masses of masonry between the north gate of Purána Qil'ah and the road as being a part of the wall of Delhi Sher Sháh, the argument is considerably strengthened, as then the wall would be found running more than half a mile north of the mausoleum. I think too the authorities quoted by General Cunningham at p. lxxix of his paper may be interpreted consistently with the view I am taking. Finch's statement of 'two kos' was undoubtedly his own approximation, or else the popular distance, and I think if allowance be made for the windings of the streets, for there seems no reason, from the na-

ture of the ground, for believing that the two gates which chance to remain were connected by a straight road, the distance between them might be set down roughly at two kos, though undoubtedly somewhat less. Again, it seems a somewhat arbitrary assumption, that the gate near the jail was the chief north gate. . . . The bridge [Barahpulah] might well be said to be only a short distance from Dehli, even if the walls stopped at Puráná Qil'ah, as the suburbs would, beyond question, extend some way beyond the wall along so important a road as the Mat'hura one must then have been; and this consideration seems to meet Purchas's statement that Humáyún's tomb was in the city. At any rate before the southern limits be fixed below Humáyún's tomb on the authority of this writer, for the quotations from Finch seem quite inconclusive till we know where his north gate stood, it seems to me essential that some satisfactory account should be given of the great gate opposite Puráná Qil'ah and its adjoining walls, as well as of the wall opposite the N. W. corner of the just named fort."

Mr. Tremlett notices, between the two gates, a mosque which is believed to have belonged to the city of Sher Sháh, and although in a fair state of preservation, of its extensive celled-walls nothing remains but a very small portion in its north-eastern corner of its court. Mr. Tremlett's second gate is thus described by Mr. Beglar, who evidently accepts General Cunningham's southern boundary of the Delhi of Sher Sháh :

" Close to Purana qilah, on the right of the present road to Humayun's, and just beyond the Kilah is a solitary gate similar to Lal Darwaza, noticed before. The gate is ornamented by coloured or glazed plaster medallions and devices or patterns, and flowers cut in red stone and in coloured plaster. The battlements are ornamented by blue medallions ; it is altogether a fine specimen of gateway. I conclude from the absence of all traces of rampart walls in continuation of the two enormous towers flanking it (now ruined), which once must have added enormously to the dignity of the gateway, that it, like the Lal Darwaza, which it much resembles, is a city gate, under which once passed one of the main streets of old Delhi. From Humayun's tomb, in a line almost perfectly straight, an old city road passes direct under this gate straight on beyond as far as the eye can see ; the entire distance, so far as the road can be traced, is covered by ruins of houses on either side, and immediately near the gate are a series of small chambers, probably the shops of petty trades-people, but which being regularly built and forming as it were wings or approaches to the gate, appear very appropriate.

" A kos minar is placed exactly in the centre of the road between this gate and Humayun's tomb, and the road is there widened so as to allow free passages on either side of the kos Minar : * * *"

The correctness of General Cunningham's account of the boundaries of Sher-garh is placed beyond all question, by 'Abdullah the author of the *Taríkh-i-Dáúdí*. "After the conquest of Multan by Haibat Khán," writes Abdullah, "Sher Sháh went (from Agra) to Delhi in the year 947 A. H. (1540 A. D.); and actuated by unworthy feelings, he destroyed the fort of 'Alá-uddín, which stood in Sirí, * * and built on the bank of the Jun [Jumna] between Firozabad and Kilokheri, in the village of Indrapat, a new city about two or three kos distant from the old one. * * The name of this fort he called *Shergarh* * * but on account of the shortness of his reign he did not live to complete it." The village of Kilakheri extended beyond the bridge of Barahpalah and the description of Shergarh by Mariner Finch, which General Cunningham adopts, is substantially correct.

In 1628, de Laët informs us, that "the city was beginning to fall into ruin; the walls were beginning to look dilapidated, and many houses were down, and about 20 handsome Pathan monuments, in and out of the city, were more or less in decay."

Masjid Qil'ah Kohnah.—In the citadel of Delhi Shershahí, we are told by 'Abbás Khán, the author of *Taríkh-i-Sher sháhí*, that Sher Sháh "built a Jám'a Masjid of stone, in the ornamenting of which much gold, *lapis lazuli*, and other precious articles were expended." "Here," says Abdullah, the author of the *Taríkh-i-Dáúdí*, "he also laid the foundation of a magnificent *masjid*, which was very quickly completed," in the year 948 A. H. (1541 A. D.)

The mosque is an oblong building, 168 feet long, 44½ feet wide, and about 44 feet high from the floor to the roof, and about 16 feet from the roof to the top of the dome. The mosque consists of five arches, the centre arch, which is recessed into the face of the mosque, is 40 feet high and 25 feet wide; it springs from marble and red-stone pilasters, and is enclosed by bands of marble and red-stone, containing verses from the Quran and fancy designs elaborately carved. The spandrels contain ornamental bosses; the inner lines of the arch are ornamented with fretwork, and its supporting pilasters are at a height of about 44 feet from the floor surmounted by minarets. Under the apex of the centre recessed arch, there is a small arched

window having a tastefully carved stone bracket for its base. The whole of the face of the arch is adorned with fancy designs inlaid with marble on red and yellow sand-stone and black slate. In this arch is the centre of the mosque; it is an arched doorway decorated with rectangular marble and red-stone bands, graceful pilasters and ornamented spandrels. The recessed arches immediately on the right and the left of the centre arch are 37 feet high and 20 feet wide, with an arched opening on a bracket over the doorway as in the centre arch; the off arches are 30 feet high and 20 feet wide, but are ornamented like the near side arches. In these arches are set the doors which form the remaining four entrances of the mosque. The mosque is flanked by two small minarets, which rise to the level of those on the sides of the centre arch; the roof over the side arches are protected by battlemented parapets, and about four feet below the parapet there is a deep stone weathering supported by corbels; the corbels over the side arches, immediately on either side of the centre arch, are massive and more elaborately engraved than those over the off ones. There is no ledge or weathering over the centre arch.

The roof of the mosque was at one time surmounted by three domes, out of which only one, that in the centre, has escaped the ravages of time; it springs from a low cylinder, and bears a flat heavy looking stone pinnacle, "supported below," as described by Mr. Beglar, "by a moulded shaft, and resembling the top stone of the great towers in Hindu temples." The domes are all flattish inside.

The floor of the mosque is paved with sand-stone, but restored here and there with masonry. In the western wall of the mosque, and corresponding with its five arched doorways, are three recessed arches, richly ornamented with white and black marble and red sand-stone carvings, and engraved with verses from the Qurán. Over the centre recessed arch and over the arches immediately on its right and left, there are small ornamental niches standing on beautifully carved brackets; over the niche in the centre arch is a square opening which acts as a ventilator, and above this are four similar openings in the domed ceiling. From the centre of the ceilings five chains are suspended which at one time held cups of copper gilt.

The pendentives supporting the domes of this mosque are greatly admired for the elaborateness of details and the finish in their execution. In the near side rooms the angles are filled up with a number of dimunitive arches, bracketing out, one beyond the other, in three tiers, the lowest being a corbel or bracket.

In the northern and southern walls of the mosque there are staircases which take the visitor to the roof. The first flight of sixteen steps leads up to a half octagonal balcony on four carved pillars of red sand-stone at the back of the mosque; the capitals of the pillars and the corbels which support the stone beams on which the dome stands, are most elaborately carved. A second flight of 15 steps leads into a long dârk gallery which opens into a second tier of half-octagonal balconies; besides these there are three square balconies, one in the centre of the wall and one on either side of it. The domes of these balconies still bear traces of enamelling.

On the roof of the mosque there are marks of the two missing domes. The centre dome is built on a low cylinder of sixteen sides surmounted by sixteen five feet high narrow ornamental pillars. The balcony in the centre of the back wall of the mosque is flanked by two slim minarets which rise about five feet above the parapets. The pulpit of the mosque is built of masonry, but I have no doubt that the original pulpit was of marble.

A spring, with steps leading down to the water, was attached to the mosque; in the court of the mosque there is a sixteen sided tank which is now dry. Writing of this mosque, Mr. Tremlett remarks that:—"Nothing but a painting can do full justice to a result in which colour and workmanship alike contribute to the charm which the spectator cannot but feel." This mosque is universally admired, and is with justice considered the finest specimen of the latest Pathan style of architecture in northern India. "The profusion of mouldings in the masjid," writes Mr. Beglar, "inside and out, and the number of angles into which its flat walls are broken up, give a variety of light and shade that is extremely pleasing, and the harmony of colour, obtained on the outside by the use of polished stone of the various colours noticed [marble,

black slate, and red and yellow sandstone], and inside near the apses by colour, is unrivalled."*

Sher Mandal.—In 948 A. H. (1541 A. D.) Sher Sháh built this tower near the mosque just described. The author of the *Táríkh-i-Dáúdí*, informs us that "within the fort of Shergarh was a small palace also left incomplete, which he (Sher Sháh) called Sher Mandal," or the tower of Sher Sháh. There is nothing palatial about this building, and both from its construction and its position in the fort, I cannot bring myself to believe that it was intended as a flanking tower of a palace gateway, or in any way connected with a more pretentious building. Equally incorrect is the statement that it was the palace of Humáyún.

The Sher Mandal is an octagonal tower, three-storeyed high,—the third storey is formed by an open pavilion—60½ feet high, with a maximum diameter of 52 feet. It is built of red-stone granite, and is ornamented with marble. The plinth of the tower is raised 4½ feet from the ground, and the tower without the octagonal pavilion is 40 feet high. The pavilion is about 16 feet high and 20 feet in diameter. The pavilion is surmounted by a cupola decorated with bands of marble, supported by eight stone pillars, and with carved bases and richly carved with chevron work. The roof round the pavilion is protected by a plain parapet, underneath which is a deep stone ledge. It is reached by two flights of stairs in the walls of the upper storey. Under the stone ledge of the upper storey, there are eight recessed pointed arches on the eight sides of the tower containing oblong doors; inside the building the accommodation consists of five rooms

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* "It may suffice," says Mr. Tremlett, "to point out certain characteristics of this style of mosque. Above the doorways, in the upper portion of the arch in which they are set, are introduced small arched window-like apertures : at the north and south sides, oriel windows are constructed, surmounted with cupolas resting on pillars. These oriel windows are also introduced into the back wall of this mosque, while each end of the back wall terminates in a rounded tower running to the top of the building. Mosques belonging to this period, and exhibiting the style, will be found in the Jamali Kamali mosque at the Qutb, in the north masjid near Mubarikpur, and in a nameless mosque at Khairpur, about a third of a mile from Safdar Jang's tomb. This last mosque is noteworthy, as being perhaps the finest remaining specimen of the success with which the Pathans worked inscriptions and tracery in stones."

in the form of a cross, the centre room being larger than its four arms; a passage connects these rooms. Inside, the rooms are panelled with encaustic tiles to the height of about three feet from the floor, and the rest of the wall, up to the ceiling, is ornamented with paintings of flowers and fancy patterns. In the corners of the upper storey, there are narrow ornamental arches, slightly recessed into the face of the walls; the upper arches are scantily ornamented with marble. The arches of the lower storey, which is solid, resemble those above them, and between the two storeys there is a band of black slate. In the northern and southern walls of the ground storey, there are about eighteen steps which lead to the upper storey.

The interest attached to this tower is purely historical, for it was here that Humáyún met with the injuries which resulted in his death. It is popularly believed that Humáyún used the tower as his library; "one day," says the author of the *Siyár-ul-Mut'aákhkharín*, "there was a conjecture that Venus would rise somewhat late. In the evening in order that he [Humáyún] might see that planet, he went on the top of the roof of his library. There standing for a moment, he wished to descend. The muazzín called to prayers. Humáyún, in order to show respect to the *azán*, desired to sit down on the second step. The steps of the staircase, by reason of their cleanliness, were very slippery. The ferrule of his staff slipped, and Humáyún falling headlong, rolled downstairs on to the ground. His limbs and joints were much hurt, and the right side of his head had received a great blow. He became altogether insensible;" and died on the 13th Rabi' I, 963 A. H. (19th of January 1556 A. D.) Those who have visited Sher Mandal will see the utter impossibility of Humáyún's "rolling downstairs on to the ground." On this point every description of Humáyún's death is more or less incorrect: he fell headlong over the parapet, according to Elphinstone and Marshman; he fell from the stairs on to the ground, according to Ferishta and the *Siyár-ul-Mut'aákhkharín*, Badáoní, *the Tabaqát*, and *Mirát-ul-'Alam*.

The remains of Humáyún were removed from Dín Panáh and buried in the village of Kilokheri, where a magnificent mausoleum was built over his remains by his wife Hají Begam and his son Akbar.

Salimgarh or Nurgarh.—In 953 A. H. (1546 A. D.) when Salím Sháh, son of Sher Sháh heard of the approach of Humáyún, he, according to the author of the "Táríkh-i-Dáúdí," marched back from Lahore to Delhi, "where he built Salímgarh opposite to Dín Panáh, in the middle of the waters of the Jumna, so that no fort should be so strong in all Hindustan, for it looks as if it was cut out of one stone." It is a semi-circular fort, and at one time was protected by nineteen towers and bastions of sizes; it is said to have cost Salím Sháh 4 lacs in money, and five years in time, but only the walls were finished when the king died and the fort was then consigned to neglect. Eighty years later, Faríd Khán, otherwise known as Murtazá Khán, an Amír who flourished in the reigns of Akbar and Jahángír, seems to have got Salímgarh, with other possessions along the banks of the Jumna, in grant from Akbar, and he built houses in this fort. In 1828 these buildings were in a complete state of ruin, but a two-storeyed pavilion and a well stocked garden were still preserved with care by Akbar II., who occasionally used to take an airing in this fort undisturbed by the public. In 1788 Gholám Qádir escaped through this fort with his followers and crossed the bridge which connects it with Lál Qil'ah, or the fort of Sháhjahánábád. This bridge was built by the Emperor Jahángír.

The fort is now crossed by the line of the East Indian Railway and was built, as already stated by Salím Sháh, the son of Sher Sháh, in A. H. 953 (A. D. 1546.) "It is situated at the north end of Sháhjahán's palace, and after the building of that palace it was used as a state prison. It is not quite one quarter of a mile in length, and the whole circuit of its walls is only three quarters of a mile. It stands on an island close to the west bank of the river, and with its lofty towers and massive walls, forms a most picturesque object from the opposite side of the Jumna. A bridge of five arches was built in front of the south gate by the Emperor Núr-uddín Jahángír, after whom the name of the place was changed to Nurgarh according to Syad Ahmad. But the old name of Salímgarh has prevailed, and is the only one that I have ever heard used by the people, either educated or uneducated."*

* Cunningham's *Archæological Reports*, Vol. II, p. 223.

General Cunningham's assistant, Mr. Beglar, gives this graphic description of "the old bridge connecting Salímgarh with the citadel of Delhi. The constructive features of the arches of this bridge deserve notice; the arch sheeting is formed of rubble and mortar, and springs flush from the face of the abutments. It is strengthened by a series of arched ribs springing from corbels that project from the faces of the abutments, which gives great appearance of lightness with great strength."*

Overlooking the road, in the river face of the fort, there are two gates, one of which bears the following inscription:

"[This gate] is built by the grace of God;
This gate [is] beautiful and [is an] increaser of happiness.
Knowledge gave the date of its building: O Zafr.†
[This] gate is as high as the sky [it is built on] auspicious foundations, 1271 Hijrí. [1852 A. D.]"

The Masjid of Khairpur.—This mosque belongs to the Lodí period, and is about its finest specimen extant. It consists of five arches, the centre arch being loftier and more elaborately ornamented than those on its sides. The roof is surmounted by three domes on narrow necks, and is protected by ornamental parapets. The ornamentations of this mosque consist of traceries and inscriptions cut in plaster. The spandrels of the arches and the arches themselves are decorated with engraved foliage and verses from the Qurán.

* English translation of the Inscriptions on the bridge :—

[1st *Inscription.*]

God is great!
[This bridge] was built by the command of Sháh Núr-uddín Jahángír, the Great.
The year and the date of its building [are to be found, in the words]: The auspicious, straight and firm road. Year 1031 [Hijrí.]

[2nd *Inscription.*]

(God is great.) By the command of the King of the Seven Worlds. (Great may be his glory,)
[Of the] Emperor, just, equitable and politic.
(The helper)! Jahángír son of the Emperor Akbar. (The Revealer,)
(The beneficent)! His sword has subdued the world. (The Living!)
(The year 17th) When this bridge was built in Delhi. (Of the reign.)
The praise of this bridge should not to be written (of Jahángír.)
(Under the Superintendence.) Thought gave the date of its completion. (Of Hosain Halbí.)
The Bridge of the Emperor of Delhi, Jahángír. (A glorious inscription.)

† The *nom de plume* of Bahádur Sháh, the last King of Delhi.

The domes are flattish inside, resting on corbelled pendentives, most elaborately carved and finished. I agree with Mr. Beglar, that colour was used in the decoration of the mosque, but its desecration by the villagers of the neighbourhood, for the last many years, has left little or no trace of the coloring.

The red-stone structure to the south of the court-yard of the mosque is evidently a gateway ; the plan of the building and its pendentives are similar to those of the 'Aláí Darwázah.

The Mosque and Tomb of 'Isa Khan.—Near the western gateway of the village known as Arab Saráí, and at a short distance from the Mausoleum of Humáyún, is a large walled enclosure in which there are a mosque and a tomb, both built by 'Isá Khán, a nobleman of the court of Sher Sháh Súr. 'Isá Khán exercised considerable influence in that reign, and when Sher Sháh's sons fell out among themselves, he sided with Salím Sháh and materially conduced to his success in securing the throne of Delhi Both the mosque and the tomb were built in 954 A. H. (1547 A. D.) in the reign of Salím Sháh, the son of Sher Sháh. The mosque is built of grey sand-stone and mortar ; it is about 186 feet long and 34 feet wide ; from the pavement to the roof of the centre arch it is 29 feet high, and from the roof to the top of the centre dome it is 32 feet high. The pinnacle of red sand-stone is 3 feet high. The doors of the mosque are three in number and are arched ; the arches are supported by tall and slim pilasters ; the spandrels are sparingly ornamented ; in the centre arch are small recessed arches which enclose the doorway, but the stone ledge which protects the side arches is not continued over the centre arch. The wall of the centre arch rises about three or four feet over the roof, and is flanked by two small minarets about 5 feet high ; the roof of the mosque is protected by a false-battlemented parapet. In the centre of the roof is an ugly dome, possessing neither beauty nor solidity, but was once covered with encaustic tiles. A pavilion, supported on eight pillars, stands on either side of

the centre dome ; it is 20 feet high, inclusive of the dome, and has a diameter of 14 feet.

There are three rooms in the mosque; the pulpit is wanting ; the inner floor is paved with sand-stone, the mehrábs, or recessed arches, corresponding with the three doors, are 6 feet high and 3½ feet wide, and are ornamented with red stone.

The tomb of 'Isá Khán is near the mosque, and, in general appearance, it is not unlike the tombs of the Sayyad Kings and of Sikandar Lodí; it is octagonal in shape, having a diameter of 34 feet, with three pointed arches, about 20 feet high and 8 feet wide, on each face. In the corners of the tomb there are double pillars. In the spandrel of the arches there are ornamental medallions ; a stone ledge supported by corbels goes round the building. Above this the roof is protected by a low parapet, having on each of its angles a small minár, and between each pair of minárs an open pavilion, 17 feet high, with a diameter of 10 feet, with its dome supported on eight red-stone pillars. The pinnacles of the pavilion are of marble; the centre dome springs from a sixteen sided cylinder.

The monument over the grave of 'Isá Khán is built of marble and red sand-stone, and is about 9 feet long, 4 feet wide and 4 feet high. There are five other monuments in this tomb, but only two are built of marble.

The following inscription occurs on one of the doors of the tomb :—

" This tomb, which is better than Paradise, was built in the time and sovereignty of Salím Sháh, son of Sher Sháh ; may God perpetuate his kingdom and his sovereignty. Sayyad 'Isá Khán, son of Barárah Agwán Hají Khás. In the year 954 Hijrí."

Arab-Sarai, miscalled Araf Sarái, is a walled village and was founded by Hají Begam, the widow of Humáyún and mother of Akbar, in the year 968 A. H. (1560 A. D.) She brought with her 300 Arabs on her return from Mecca and settled them here. The only objects worthy of notice in Arab Sarái are the old gateways, one of which was erected in the reign of Jahángír, the grandson of Humáyún. The western

gate of the Saráí is too insignificant to deserve special notice; the northern gate is a lofty building about 40 feet high, 25 feet wide and 20 feet deep. The two sides of this gateway are formed by ornamental rectangular bands which support cross bands, which in their turn support the parapet. Within these rectangular bands is the lofty recessed arch, the spandrels of which are ornamented with bosses; on a level with these ornaments are small balconies on stone brackets. Under the apex of the recessed arch is a small window, and six feet below this is the arched doorway, which is 16 feet high and 10 feet wide. The doorway is also enclosed by rectangular bands, and the spandrels are also ornamented with bosses.

The next object of interest is the eastern gate of the Saráí; it is protected by embattled parapets, it has no balconies on the sides of the recessed arch, and enamelling is freely used in its ornamentation. The following inscription over this gateway ascribes it to Miharbán Aghá:

> "In the name of God, the merciful and the compassionate.
> There is no God, but God and Muhammad is his prophet! O God!
> [His] kind [Miharbán] and old patron [is] Jahángír Sháh.

Khair-ul-Manazil.—This Madrasah, with a mosque attached, was built by Máham Ankah, the wet-nurse of Akbar and the mother of Adham Khán, in the year 969 A. H. (1561 A. D). The Madrasah is in ruins, but the cloisters are still to be seen here and there; it stands almost in front of the western gate of Puráná Qiláh, and near the supposed site of the western gate of the Delhi of Sher Sháh, already described. Mr. Beglar gives the following description of the mosque: it "is an inscribed Masjid of Akbar's period; it is built of rubble and plaster, with the ornamented parts of gate-way and masjid painted by the use of red dressed stone and granite; the gate, now partly ruined, must have once been very fine. The Masjid inside was profusely ornamented with coloured plaster and glazed tiles, though now most of it has been stripped off. The façade of the Masjid and gateway were also ornamented with coloured medallions and carved stone flowers; the colors used were blue, yellow, red, purple, white, green, black

and grey. It has one central dome on a low neck, and very peculiar pinnacle, greatly resembling that of Kilá Koná Masjid. The walls of the Masjid are plumb, but the towers slope, and it has great projecting eaves in front as in Moth-ki-Masjid. A peculiarity of this Masjid were its cloisters."

In the eighth year of the reign of Akbar (971 A. H. 1564 A. D.) an attempt was made on the life of the Emperor from the roof of the Madrasah, which the author of the *Tabaqát-i-Akbarí* describes as follows: "When Sharaf-uddín Hosain fled from Court to Nagor, he had a slave, by name Koká Fulád, one of the slaves of his father, who at all times secretly did everything in his power to injure the Emperor. This wretched man came into the royal camp and was constantly on the watch for an opportunity. When the Emperor returned from his hunting excursion and, passing through the bazaar of Delhi, came near to the Madrasah of Máham Ankah, this blood-thirsty fellow shot an arrow at His Majesty, but, by the mercy of God who watched over the Emperor's safety, it did not inflict a severe wound but merely grazed the skin. The attendants of the Emperor instantly fell upon the traitor, and, with strokes of sword and dagger, they sent him to hell."

The inscription on the mosque is to the following effect:—

"In the time of Jalál-uddín Muhammad
[Who] is great [Akbar] among the just kings,
Máham Begam, the root of purity,
Laid the foundation [of this house] for good men:
But the building of this gracious house was helped by
Shaháb-uddín Ahmed Khán Bázel,
What blessings [there are in] this auspicious building,
That its date is found in the words; Blessed among Houses!

The Tomb of Adham Khan, otherwise known as *Bhul-bhalián*, or the Labyrinth. As already mentioned in my description of the capital of Rái Pithora, this tomb stands on the south-western corner of its citadel. It was built by the order of Akbar over the remains of Adham Khán and his mother Máham Ankah. In describing the tomb of 'Azam Khán, I have related the circumstances under which he was assassinated in the palace of Akbar, at Agra, by Adham Khán and his attendants. "After the murder," says the author of the

Tabaqát-i-Akbarí, "trusting to the favour and kindness which had been shown to him by the Emperor, Adham Khán went and stood at the door of the harem. His Majesty rushed out of the harem, sword in hand, and the assassin was bound hand and foot and cast over the parapet in punishment of his crime. This murder was committed on the morning of Sunday, 12 Ramzan 973 A.H." According to Badáoní, "as a spark of life was left in the assassin after his fall, the Emperor ordered him to be thrown over the parapet again. He was buried one day before his victim."

Maham Ankah on hearing of the embroilment, but not fearing that the worst could have happened to her son, "repaired, though sick, from Delhi to Agra." On seeing her, Akbar said, "He has killed my foster father, and I have taken his life." "Your Majesty has done well," replied Máham, and left the hall. "Forty days after she died from grief, and was buried with her son in Delhi in a tomb which Akbar had built for them."*

The tomb stands on the right of the road leading from the Qutb Minár to the village of Mahrauli, and within five minutes walk of the Minár. Two flights of heavy stone steps lead up to a landing in front of the tomb. The court of the tomb is 17 feet above the level of the road; it is an octagon with a diameter of 200 feet. The side of the court which overlooks the road is open; in its north-western wall, leading into Qil'ah Rai Pithora, is a small gateway; there is a similar entrance in its south western wall which leads to a mosque about 20 yards to the west of the tomb. The wall of the court is about ten feet high and is pierced with loopholes; only a fourth of the original wall is now standing. Each of the eight corners of the court is supported by a round tower, with embattled parapets, which rise about six feet above the wall. The walls and the towers are made of rough hewn stone and mortar. Between the towers, but a few feet behind the enclosure walls, there are small heaps of ruins; it is impossible, however, to say whether they belong to other towers, or to *Chabutrahs* constructed for the use of visitors.

The tomb, which is about 60 feet high, stands on a 4 feet high plinth; it is an octagonal building, having all its façades alike. A verandah, or corridor, goes round the centre

* Blochmann's *Ain-i-Akbarí*.

room. From the pavement of the court to the top of the roof the tomb is 32 feet high; each of its eight sides consists of three lofty arches; and the pillars from which the arches spring consist of blocks of square stones piled up in order. Some of the shafts of the pillars are made of entire pieces of granite, but the capitals and the bases are constructed with separate pieces of stone. The corner pillars are double. The roof of the tomb is protected by an embattled parapet 4 feet high, having at each of its angles a minaret about 6 feet higher than the parapet.

The centre of the tomb is an octagonal room, 50 feet in diameter, inclusive of the corridor. In the centre of each of its eight sides is an arched doorway, and on either sides of the doorway there is a niche about 2 feet high. Over the arch of the doorway is an arched opening. From outside, the dome of the tomb appears to stand on a sixteen sided platform about 12 feet high, having on each of its angles a small minaret. The dome which is built of stone and mortar, covered with plaster, is about 16 feet high and is surmounted by a heavy looking pinnacle of corrugated stone. The diameter of the dome is the same as that of its neck, that is, about 24 feet. The lower wall of the room is 7 feet deep; inside the wall and above the height of the doorways, is the labyrinth or *Bhúlbhalúán* by which name the tomb is sometimes known.

The inside of the roof is vaulted; over the octagonal walls of the centre room, which are 32 feet high, the walls are sixteen-sided, containing sixteen arches, of which, originally, every alternate arch was open. Above this the thirty-two sided walls support the dome.

The stone monument which once covered the grave was removed about 40 years ago, and is now to be seen in the verandah of the tomb. I have not been able to trace the monument over the grave of Adham Khán's mother, Máham Ankah.

The Tomb of Humayun.—On the 11th of Rab'í I, 963 A. H. (21st January, 1555), Humáyún died at Dín Panáh, and was buried in the village of Kilokheri, where his mausoleum now stands. Hájí Begam, his attached and faithful wife, and the mother of Akbar, laid the founda-

tion of this building which was completed in the year 973, A. H. (1565 A. D.) or, according to some, in the 14th year of the reign of Akbar, 977 A. H. (1569 A. D.) at a cost of 15 lacs of rupees ; the best part of which expenditure must have been borne by the Emperor Akbar himself.

The Tomb of Humáyún may be regarded as the general dormitory of the House of Timúr; for, although Akbar and his three immediate successors are buried elsewhere, no other mausoleum contains so many distinguished dead who belong to the Moghal dynasty. Round the grave of Humáyún are interred Hají Begam, his wife, and the companion of his many troubles; the headless body of Dárá Sheko, the accomplished and chivalrous but ill-fated son of Sháh Jahán; the Emperor Muhammad, 'Azam Sháh, the brave but unwise son of Aurangzeb, who fell in battle against his brother before Agra; the Emperor Jahándár Sháh, the grandson of Aurangzeb, and his unfortunate successor, Farokhsir, who was poisoned by his prime minister ; the youthful Rafí-ud-darjáth and Rafí-ud-daulah, each of whom in succession assumed imperial dignity only to relinquish it after an unimportant reign of three months; and last, though not the least, 'Alamgír II, who was assassinated at the instigation of his prime minister, 'Imád-ul-Mulk. Other royal princes and princesses, and their attendants and retainers sleep close to the illustrious few whose names are preserved in history.

In this tomb of the first hereditary monarch of the Moghal race, the last Moghal Emperor of Delhi, Bahádur Sháh, surrendered himself a prisoner to the British Government after the rebellion of 1857. Here also were captured the sons and nephew of Bahádur Sháh, who were summarily executed for murder and treason within sight of this tomb.

The Tomb of Humáyún stands on the river Jumna, in the centre of a high walled enclosure, which is entered on the west and the south by two lofty tower-like gateways which add much to the grandeur of the building. In the middle of the eastern wall of the enclosure is an unpretending low, flat roofed room with eight doors and a verandah overlooking the river ; in the middle of its northern wall stands a small building, on a 7 feet high platform ; it has an arched room in the centre through which the water from a huge martello

tower shaped well behind the wall, fed the canals which irrigated and adorned the garden.*

The walls on either side of the two gateways, and fully half of the eastern wall, contain arched cells, which are fairly high but not deep enough for permanent human habitation.

The gateways are built of grey stone, ornamented with bands and bosses of red stone, and here and there, with marble. The southern gateway has been converted into a rest house ; masonry walls divide its centre arched room from the side rooms, converting it into a comfortable resting place for visitors.

In the centre of the garden is a stone and masonry platform about 5 feet from the ground, 100 yards square, with its corners cut off ; on this platform, at a distance of 23 feet from its sides, stands a terrace about 20 feet high, 85 yards square, with its corners cut off like those of the platform. In each of the four short sides of the terrace there is an arched door leading into a mortuary cell and on each of its four long sides there are 17 such arches ; under the ninth, or the middle, arch there are steps which take the visitor to the top of the terrace. The platform and the terrace are paved with sand stone ; the roof of the terrace was at one time completely, and now partially, protected by two feet high perforated parapets of sand-stone ; the parapets on the river face of the terrace were destroyed during the rebellion of 1857. The cells in the walls of the terrace have arched doorways which are ornamented with bands and panels of marble. In the centre of the floor of this magnificent terrace is the grave of the Emperor Humáyún, and those of his widow, his infant daughter, of some of his descendants, and of others who were true in their allegiance to the Timúr dynasty. On the roof of the terrace are certain monuments, the most remarkable of which are those of the Emperor, his widow, and of such of his descendants who either succeeded to the throne or were closely related to him. Of these monuments some are within the cover of the mausoleum, and others are exposed to the sky ; the former are of marble, beautifully carved and highly polished.

* In 1825, Bishop Heber saw "one of the canals still in use, and helped the poor to cultivate a little wheat."

I doubt whether after the reign of Akbar, any burial took place, within such close proximity to the grave of Humáyún as to come within the shelter of the tomb itself.

The centre room is a square of 45 yards; it is built of red sandstone, and is ornamented with marble bands which cut off the walls into panels. "The exterior form of the main body of the tomb," says Cunningham, "is a square with the corners cut off, on an octagon with four long and four short faces, and each of the short faces forms one side of the four octagonal corner towers...In this tomb we first see towers attached to the four angles of the main building...Another innovation observable in this tomb is the narrow necked dome, which was afterwards adopted in all the Mogul buildings."* The tomb itself is a lofty square tower surmounted by a magnificent marble dome, topped with a copper pinnacle which stands 140 feet from the level of the terrace. Each of its four corners is cut off so as to admit an octagonal tower of four long and four short sides, and between these towers, there are arches about 50 feet high. "Over these arches, writes Franklin, the wall is raised about 14 feet to hide the shaft or cylinder on which the dome stands; in the four smaller sides, which are formed by cutting off the corners of the square towers, a double range of arches rises to the top; but here, instead of raising the wall whose uniformity would destroy its beauty, a small pavilion crowned by a dome is raised at each great angle. In the northern arch of the building is a door which admits the visitor into the room containing the marble tomb, corresponding with which in the ground floor is the grave of Humáyún."

The corner towers are two storeyed, and round these towers and the centre room, in the upper storey, there runs a narrow gallery, corresponding with which in the lower storey are narrow passages. The centre room has two tiers of arched windows; the upper windows being smaller than the lower ones.

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* Mr. Beglar gives an amusing description of the dome. "The exterior of the great central dome is of a peculiar, but not pleasing shape, it is pointed and rests on a neck less in diameter than itself, looking as if it were being strangulated. According to Captain Archer it is three-fourths the size of the dome of St. Paul's.

"The four great arches of this room," writes Franklin, "rise about 20 feet in height. Above these, with the intervention of a wide compartment, is another row of arches 16 feet high; in the second tier, with the same space between, is a square window with lattice work of white marble. The roof is oval, being 80 feet in height and formed by the dome; the tomb is in the centre, 6 feet by 2, composed of a single block of white marble. The floors and walls [to the height of 6 feet] are of the same material; the doors and windows are filled with open lattice work; the recess of each of the great arches is 14 feet deep, with inlaid pavement of variegated marble."

The inside of the dome was at one time enriched with gilding and enamel; and from its centre was suspended a tassel of gold lace which the Jats fired at with their matchlocks, and succeeded in destroying; the marks of the bullets may yet be seen in some places.

The marble monument of Humáyún stands on a well polished floor of the same material, about 6 inches higher than the floor of the room, and is paved with white marble ornamented with narrow bands of black marble; the rest of the room is paved with white marble. The monument is shaped like a huge casket but bears no inscription.

"The rooms at the angles," writes Franklin, "are octagon, 21 feet in diameter, with arched roofs, 40 feet high; the four central rooms are 30 by 20, the floor and lower compartments of the eight being of white marble...there are eight rooms above corresponding in size with those below."

Of the corner basement rooms those on the S. E. and S. W. have only one entrance each; they communicate with each other through the arched entrance of the centre room; the doors of the corner rooms on the opposite side are in the outer walls. There is no communication between them. The floors of the corner rooms and of the room through which the centre room is reached are of marble, ornamented with bands of red stone. In the walls of the corner rooms, there are steps leading to the top of the building, to the gallery round the centre room and to the corner rooms of the second storey.

The marble dome stands on a cylinder about 25 feet

high, decorated with the double triangle of the Masonic order of the Royal Arch, having black stone medalions in the centre. On every corner of the roof is a pavilion with masonry dome, supported on eight stone pillars ; between these pavilions, but only of the width of the main arches below, there are small halls, with four stone pillars in front, supporting the roof. Each of the halls on the east and the west has a small room on either side, and in front a narrow verandah supported on beautifully carved stone pillars. On the roof of the hall, a little removed from the sides, there are two small open pavilions on four pillars ; the front corners have 6 feet high minarets. The eight angles of the roof are also ornamented with eight minarets.

The college, which is on the roof of the tomb, was at one time an institution of some importance, and men of learning and influence used to be appointed to the charge of the place. It has, however, long ceased to maintain its reputation, and for the last hundred and fifty years the once, probably, well filled rooms have been completely abandoned. Among the mutawallís of this tomb Mr Blochmann mentions Shaikh Husain and Mauláná Núr-ud-dín Tarkhán ; it also appears, that on the return of Haji Begam from Mecca, she was put in charge of the tomb of her husband, and on her death, she was buried here under the north western corner room, where also was buried an infant daughter of Humáyún. There are three graves under this room and three under the south-western room, and two each in the north-eastern and the south-western rooms. The monuments over the graves, which are erected on the floors of the rooms already described, are of marble. On the western terrace of the tomb are eleven graves, of which five are covered with marble and the others with masonry monuments. There is a solitary tombstone on the opposite side of the terrace, and it is the only one which contains any record of historical value ; the inscription, however, does not say more than that it marks the grave of : "Sangí Begam, wife of 'Alamgír the Second, 1181." The nameless graves bear the well-known verse from the Qurán which ascribes eternal life to the Almighty and mortality to man. I have in vain endeavoured to identify these graves ; as authorities on the subject, the Khádams of the shrine of Nizámuddín, who ordinarily officiate as guides, are thoroughly untrustworthy. The popular impression is that the grave nearest the steps on the north of the mausoleum is that of

Dárá Sheko, and in succession, on the same side, are those of Jahándár Sháh and 'Alamgír II.

In the south-eastern corner of the garden of this mausoleum is a small tomb, the history of which is unknown. According to Syud Ahmed Khán, it was built in the year 1131 A. A. (1780 A. D.), but the learned Syud does not give any authority for his opinion.

This tomb stands on an 8 feet high terrace, which is 76 feet square and is paved with red sandstone. The walls of the terrace are built of red sandstone. The tomb itself is 40 feet square and about 72 feet high from the terrace to the top of the dome. The roof of the tomb is not accessible, there being no steps leading to it. The interior of the tomb is 24 feet square and the inner walls are faced with red sandstone. There is only one entrance to the tomb, which, like the steps which lead to the top of the terrace, is on the south. Each of the four sides of the tomb has in the centre a deep recessed arch; in the southern arch is the door which is 8 feet high and 5 feet wide. The remaining three arches are covered with red sandstone screens. On either side of the big recessed arch, the wall is ornamented with two shallow false arches, one above the other. Over the arched doorway and over each of the three screened arches, there are open arched windows.

There are two marble monuments in the tomb, both covered with engravings of verses from the Qurán; one of the monuments is 7 feet long, 2¼ feet wide, and 13 inches high; the other is 6 feet long, 2¼ feet wide, and about 1½ feet high.

On the four corners of the roof are open domed pavilions supported on four sandstone pillars, about 8 feet high; the domes are still marked with the remains of encaustic tiles. The dome of the tomb stands on a sixteen sided cylinder, the corners of which are ornamented with small minarets. The dome is made of red and grey sandstone, striped with marble. The tomb is built almost entirely of red and grey sandstone.

Barah Palah.—This bridge is at a short distance to the south east of the southern gateway of Humáyún's tomb. It was built by Miharbán Aghá, a eunuch of the Court of Jahángír, who also built the eastern gate of Arab Sarái. According to a chronogram in the inscription on this bridge it was built in the year 1021 A. H. (1612 A. D.), but General Cunningham remarks, that as Mariner Finch saw the bridge in 1611 A. D., it could not have been built in 1612. It is a massive structure of stone and mortar and spans what De Laét calls a branch of the Jumna; in 1628 the road between the bridge and the mausoleum was "a broad path shaded by lofty trees," consisting of only eleven arches. Although known as Bárah Palah or twelve arches, the bridge consists of only eleven arches; General Cunningham explains away this incongruity by calling it *Barah Pul* or the "Great Bridge," while his assistant, Mr. Beglar, is hardly more satisfactory when he "would suggest that the name Bara Palla refers to the 12 abutments or piers that support the 11 arches, the word *palla* being often used to denote the abutments of a bridge." I have not been able to get any satisfactory solution of this remarkable difference between an intelligible name and its obviously inconsistent fact; but even a wilder explanation, than those already referred to, was given by the villagers of the neighbourhood, according to whom "bar" means a great stream of water, and "pula" a bridge. If we were to accept this explanation it would equally apply to nine-tenths of Indian bridges during the rains.

The bridge is 361 feet long, 46 feet wide and has a maximum height of 29 feet. The sides of the bridge are protected by heavy masonry walls; the walls over the arches are flanked by minars, about 10 feet high, one on either side of every arch. On the second northern arch, the highest point of the bridge, stands a red stone wall, about eight feet high and five feet wide, containing an inscription.* The heavy

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"* God is great,
[It was] Owing to Jahángír Sháh, the son of Akbar Sháh,
Whose justice is [like unto] the wind and mankind [like unto] flowers;
To his friends he is a crested chief like the Hoopoo,
To his enemies he is ringed like a dove;
Hind in his reign,
Was addressed by Istambol as '[I am] your servant,'
Hazrath Delhi is a garden,
Which has taken sweet odours from flowers and colour from wine;
In the seventh year of his reign

rains of last year damaged this arch and precipitated the memorial stone into the river. Measures, we hope, will be taken to recover the inscription, and restore it to its proper place. The road on the middle of the bridge is covered with masonry, and on either side of it is a foot path of sandstone. As already stated, the second arch on the north is the highest arch of the bridge, and from here the arches decline in height till they reach the road on the opposite side.

The tomb of Naubath Khan or Nili Chhatri.—Naubath Khán, an Amír of the time of Akbar, built this tomb during his life time, in the year 973 A. H. (1565 A. D.), and was buried here after his death. It is popularly known as Nílí Chhatrí, from the fact of its dome having been originally ornamented with blue caustic tiles. It stands almost midway between Puráná Qilah and the tomb of Nizám-ud-dín Auliá, and is built in an enclosure of several acres of ground. The enclosure walls are visible here and there, but the gateway is better preserved. It is about 25 feet square and about 24 feet high, inclusive of an embattled parapet 2 feet high.

Over the entrance of the tomb is the following inscription; the letters are of black marble, inlaid on sand stone :—

"The eyes of Time did not see in this world
Such a beautiful and lofty building,
Of knowledge, the date of its completion,
I asked, [it] replied, [It has] attained completion."

Behind the gateway is a small building with three doors. On the back of this building is a high octagonal terrace about 6 feet from the ground and 79 feet in diameter. In the middle of the southern wall of the terrace there are two flights of steps, on opposite sides;

Which was such [a time] that the Nightingale did not complain of the cruelties of the flowers,
Miharbán Aghá, his special servant,
Chief of the King's seraglio [who] has knowledge of all [its] secrets,
Built this bridge out of a kindly feeling [to others],
That it might be of service to him on that bridge [in the day of Judgment.]
I asked for the date of this [building] from the firmanent,
The face [of the firmanent] looked like a full blown flower with joy.
It said : Take up your pen and write
[He] built this bridge out of kindness [Miharbán],

which lead to a landing on a level with the top of the terrace. On the north-eastern and north-western corners of the terrace there are two graves of masonry and stone, and the ruins of several others are still visible. On each of the four corners of the terrace are the ruins of a tower. In the centre of the *chabútrah* is the mausoleum of Naubath Khán, which is an octagon 51 feet in diameter and about 34 feet high, inclusive of the embattled parapet ; the whole of the tomb is built of stone and masonry and ornamented with encaustic tiles of four colours, viz, green, blue, yellow and orange. Verses from the Quran may still be traced in the ornamentation of the tomb. Inside, the roof of the tomb is domed and its eight arched entrances are about 5 feet wide and 7 feet high, and over these doorways are open arched niches. There are steps in the wall of the room ; the first flight of eight steps takes the visitor to the level of the open niches over the doorways ; a second flight of twelve steps leads to the top of the building. The roof of the tomb is flat, but on its centre is an octagonal *chabútrah* about 5 feet high and 30 feet in diameter, which supports an octagonal *chabútrah* 23 feet in diameter, and about 2 feet high. The second *chabútrah* bears marks of eight pillars, and on these pillars was raised the blue enamelled dome which gave its name to the tomb.

The Tomb of Khwajah Baqi Billah.— Baqí Billah was a native of Kabul ; he arrived at Delhi in the reign of Akbar, died in the year 1012 A. H. (1603 A. D.) and was buried about half a mile to the west of Modern Delhi. He was a member of the Naksh-bandí fraternity of holy men, and pretended to have received the gift of "holy teaching" from the Prophet in a dream ; the sanctity of this man may be judged by the veneration shown to his grave and by the number of those who have since been buried in this out-of-the-way and barren spot. The grave of Baqí Billah is within an irregular oblong enclosure of low masonry walls, containing several acres of ground and now completely covered with the usual bier-shaped tombs, some few of which are built of marble.

The monument of Baqí Billah is erected on two low platforms ; the first is about 24 feet square with an eighteen

inches high sand-stone wall round it ; the second platform is 12 feet square enclosed by a foot high stone wall. On the latter platform is a bier-shaped monument. At the head ot the tomb is a wall in the form of three arches with small square noles for lamps ; in the centre of the wall there are two niches for offerings.

To the right of the grave is a flat-roofed mosque, with five arched doors ; the three centre arches are large and lofty, the side arches are smaller. In the side walls of the mosque the windows are covered with screens of sand stone lattice work.

The Tomb of **Shaikh Farid Bukhari** —Within half a mile of the Begampurí Masjid is the tomb of Shaikh Faríd Bukhárí, better known, in the reign of Jahángír, as Murtaza Khán, of whom mention has been made in my account of the fort of Salimgarh. Mr. Blochmann gives a full account of Shaikh Faríd in his valuable notes to the Aín-i-Akbarí. Shaikh Faríd entered Akbar's service early in life, and was appointed Mír Bakshí ; on the death of Akbar, Shaikh Faríd supported the cause of Jahángír. He defeated Prince Khusrau on the banks of the Beás, and received from Jahángír the title of Murtaza Khán and the government of Gujrat. He was subsequently removed from Gujrat and appointed Governor of the Punjab, where he died in Puthán in the eleventh year of the reign of Jahángír in the year 1025 A. H. (1615 A. D.) and was buried near the village of Begampúr.

The tomb, with about a hundred other such monuments, stands in a small enclosure, now in ruins. The monument over the grave of Faríd Khán is built of marble ; it is about 7 feet long and 3 feet 8 inches wide and about 20 inches high. At the head of the grave is a plain head-stone, 7 feet high and 20 inches broad, containing an inscription of some historical value. According to Syud Ahmed Khán, Shaikh Farád died in the ninth year of the reign of Jahángír in 1033 A. H. Mr. Blochmann corrects the Syud, and observes that instead of the ninth year, 1033 A. H., it should be "in the eleventh year or 1025." Syud Ahmed Khán's authority, the inscription, is to the following effect :- -

"O God ! Thou art pure and Lord [of all] and immortal.
In the reign of the Hazrath, the dweller in Paradise,
Jalál-uddín Akbar Bádshah Ghází, Shaikh Faríd, son of the Syud

Ahmed Bukhárí, was distinguished by the favours of the Hazrath [the King]; and in the reign of the just Núruddín Jaháugír Bádsháh, son of Akbar Bádsháh, was dignified by the title of Murtazá Khán, on the date * * in the 9th year of the reign [of Jahángír] corresponding with 1025 A. H., he received the mercy of God.

Murtazá Khan, when he reached the, [presence of the] Almighty
The realm of Immortality was opened to him;
The angels said of the date [of his death]:
O Lord! illumine his soul with light."

I believe the year of the Hijrí is correctly given and that the mistake occurs in the year of the reign, which should be, as suggested by Mr. Blochmann, the eleventh and not the ninth.

The Tomb of Fahim or Nili Burj.—Outside the eastern wall of the mausoleum of Humáyún stands a tomb with a damaged blue dome, which is called by some the Barber's tomb, but very probably it belongs to Miyán Fahím the faithful attendant of Khán Khánán, Abdúr-rahím, and is believed to have been built by Khán Khánán in the year 1034 A. H. (1624 A. D.). Before Mahábat Khán imprisoned Khán Khánán he tried to buy over Fahim; but Fahím would not play false and betray his master, and fell fighting against Mahábat Khán. Khán Khánán commemorated the memory of his faithful attendant by building over his remains a tomb which must have been singularly beautiful, as it was ornamented profusely with encaustic plaster and tiles and the narrow necked Moghal dome is still covered entirely with encaustic plaster of a deep blue colour.

The tomb stands on a platform or terrace, 108 feet square and 5 feet high; the building itself is an octagon of four narrow and four broad sides, having a diameter of 62 feet. It is 70 feet high from the floor of the platform to the top of the dome, exclusive of a red stone pinnacle of 6 feet. The broad four sides of the octagon have four deeply recessed pointed arches with a door in each, and about 3 feet over the door is a small arched window. The narrow walls, on either side of the arch, and the spandrels of the arch were all ornamented with foliage and other patterns; the narrow sides of the octagon contain false recessed arches. The neck

of the cylinder on which the dome stands is ornamented with low arches all round. The monument over the grave is no longer in existence, and the tomb itself is now used as a cattle shed.

The Tomb of Khan Khanan—'Abdur-rahim, *par excellence* the Khán Khánán of Moghal historians, was the son of Bairam Khán, the friend, companion, and general of Humáyún; his mother was the daughter of a Mewát chief. He stood high in Akbar's favor and held high commands under him; he suppressed a formidable rebellion in Gujrat, conquered Sindh, and maintained the imperial prestige in the Deccan under adverse circumstances till the close of the reign of Akbar. Under Jahángír, he experienced a turn of fortune. He was associated with Jahángír's son, Prince Khúrram, but played false: he abandoned one cause to join another; was imprisoned by Mahábat Khán, and sent, under the order of the Emperor, to Delhi and thence to Lahore, where he took ill and returned to Delhi only to die. His life was such, that a history of it, says Erskine "would be a history of public affairs of the empire of Delhi during half a century;" he died in 1036 A. H. (1626 A. D.) "with the highest reputation for talents, valour, generosity and learning."

Within a short distance of the tomb of Fahím, and on the right of the road from Humáyún's Mausoleum to Bárah Palah is the tomb of Khán Khánán.

It stands on a terrace about 14 feet high and 166 feet square, built of stone and mortar. Each of the four sides of the terrace contains 17 arches, 14 of which are recessed in the walls, while the rest open into rooms. On the south of the terrace there are 14 steps, which conduct the visitor to the floor of the tomb. The tomb itself is an octagon, with four broad and narrow sides 85 feet in diameter; the narrow sides have two arches, one over the other, marking the two galleries round the centre room and the roof over the narrow sides is surmounted by an open domed pavilion; the broad sides consist of lofty recessed arches containing smaller arches covered with screens of stone, through one of which was the entrance of the centre room. From the top of the terrace to

that of the roof the tomb is 37 feet high, and from the roof to the top of the dome about 25 feet more. The tomb is now in the occupation of the villagers who garner here the crops of the adjoining fields. During the premiership of 'Asfi-ud-dowlah this tomb was robbed of all its marble, and it is now in a disgraceful state of neglect. The dome and the walls of the tomb have been stript of their valuable facings and are now covered with grass and broken mortar. The monument over the grave has also been robbed of its marble, and is now indicated by a small heap of debris.

Lal Mahal.—The ruins known as such are within a short distance of the village of Nizám-uddín. Of the history of these ruins, we know nothing, but the opinion that they belong to the Khiljí Kings and very probably to 'Ala-uddin has received the support of Mr. Campbell's authority. There is nothing palatial about these ruins; thirty years ago they were more numerous, but red-stone having since risen in value by the growing demand for it in the neighbourhood, this neglected building has suffered from the ravages of plundering villagers. The ruins at present consist of a domed room, the dome of which was once supported by an open four-pillared-pavalion on each of the four corners of the building; and of a large double storeyed pavilion "in the lower or basement storey of the main building," writes Campbell, "there are several arches of the shape always employed by 'Ala-uddin and which can be easily identified as his work. The upper storey is composed almost wholly of red sand-stone (whence the name of Lal Mahal) and is supported on pillars, so as to form an open hall. It has the appearance of a number of small pavilions, covered with stepped and sloping roofs, grouped around a central dome, which is in section a true oval pointed at the apex." "The style of the ornamentation, of the battlements, and of the mouldings so strongly resembles that in the Alai Darwaza at the Kutb that there can be no reasonable doubt as to the two buildings having been designed and built at the same period; and we have thus ample warrant for describing the Lal Mahal as the work of 'Ala-uddin."

The alterations made to these ruins belonged either to the reign of Akbar or Jahangir, but whatever was once restored of the original building is now in a state of complete ruin.

Lal Qil'ah or Qil'ah Mubarik or Qil'ah Shajahanabad.—After the battle of Panipat and the fall ofthe Lodí dynasty, Babar, the first Moghal Emperor of Hindusthan, ascended the throne at Agra, the then capital of the Pathan Kings. On the death of Babar, his son Humáyún continued to reside at Agra till his expulsion from India by Sher Sháh in the year 1540 A. D. ; on his return to India in the year 1556, he fixed his head-quarters at Delhi where he died after a short reign of six months. On the accession of his son and successor, Akbar, Agra continued to be the capital of the Moghal Empire and the government of Delhi was entrusted to an Imperial Lieutenant. Jahángír succeeded his father Akbar, and Agra still continued to be the seat of Government. On the death of Jahángír, his son Sháh Jahán ascended the throne of Hindusthan in the hall of his grand-father with great pomp and show. After a reign of eleven years at Agra, Sháh Jahán resolved to move the capital of his empire to Delhi. He paid several visits to the city of Din Panah, and, with the help of Hindu astrologers and Muhammadan Hakims, he fixed the site of the present fort as that of his citadel, round which he afterwards built Sháhjahánábád, the capital of his empire and generally known to later historians as Modern Delhi. On the 12th Zilhij 1048 A. H. (1638 A. D.), the workmen assembled and laid the foundation stone of the fort under the superintendence of 'Izzat Khan, afterwards (1057 A. H. 1647 A. D.) governor of Sindh, assisted by Ostads Ahmad and Hira the chiefs of the workmen. On the transfer of 'Izzat Khán from Delhi, the building of the fort was entrusted to 'Alah Vardi Khán who raised the walls all round 12 yards high, in 2 years, 1 month and 11 days. 'Alah Vardi was then appointed to a governorship, and the work was confided to Makramath Khán who after nine years' labour, finished it in the 20th year of the reign of Sháh Jahán. On the 24th of Rabi II. of 1058 A. H. (1648 A. D.) Sháh Jahán entered the fort through the gate facing the river, and held his first Court in the Dewán 'Am.*

* Writing of Lal Qil'ah in 1663, Bernier gives the following description :—

It "is round or rather semicircular. It commands a prospect of the river, from which it is separated by a sandy space of considerable length and width. On these sands are exhibited the combats of elephants, and there the corps belonging

The fort is an irregular octagon with its two long sides on the East (river-side), and the West (city-side) and the six smaller ones on the North and the South. The circuit of the fort is not over a mile and a half, being about 3,000 feet long and 1,800 feet broad; towards the river, the wall is about 60 feet high; is built against the bank, and the buildings of the fort stand on a level with the top of the wall presenting to the spectator, on the opposite side, a splendid panorama both of the fort and the city of Sháh-jahánábád. Between the river and the wall, there is a high sandy bank which is seldom under water. On the land side, the fort presents a grand view of lofty and massive red sand-stone walls with a glacis and a deep ditch underneath. The walls tower to a height of 110 feet, of which 75 feet are above the level of the ground and the ditch; the width of the walls is about 45 feet at the base, and about 30 feet where the embattled parapets stand; the ditch is 75 feet wide and 30 feet deep. Of these walls, Bernier, who visited Delhi in the reign of Aurangzeb, remarked, that they excelled those of the city in height, width and strength. "Except on the side of the river, the citadel is defended by a deep ditch faced with hewn stone, filled with water and stocked with fish; but in my opinion," continues Bernier, "a battery of moderate force would soon level the walls with the ground. Adjoining the ditch are large gardens, full of flowers and green shrubs at all times, which, contrasted with the stupendous walls, produce a beautiful effect." These gardens have disappeared; but they might have been seen in a neglected state before the mutiny of 1857. Two superb gateways, with barbicans in front, one in the middle of the western wall, and the other near the south-western corner of the southern walls of the fort, from the main and the city entrances of the palace. From the level of the grounds on which they stand, the gates are 110 feet high.

Besides the gates on the city side of the fort, there are two smaller gates, one, called the Khijri gate, under the Musamman Búrj on the river face of the fort; and the other

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to Omrahs or Lords, and those of the rajahs or pagan princes, pass in review before the Sovereign, who witnesses the spectacle from the windows of the palace. The walls of the citadel, and of their antique and round towers, resemble those of the city, but being partly of brick and partly of a red-stone which resembles marble, they have a better appearance."

on the north, leading into Salímgarh. There are two *Khirkis*, wickets, one close to the Asad Búrj on the south-eastern corner of the fort, and the other on the north-eastern side, about half way between the gateway to the north and the Sháh Búrj.

The walls are surmounted by embattled parapets and are ornamented with 21 small pavilions, 7 of which are round and the rest octagonal.

The citadel is believed to have cost 100 lakhs of rupees, half of which sum is said to have been spent on its walls and the other half on the buildings inside.

"The citadel," writes Bernier, "which contains the seraglio and other royal apartments, commands a prospect of the river," from which it was separated then, as it is now, by a sandy space of considerable length and width. On these sands, Bernier was once in danger of his life from the attack of an infuriated elephant.

The Lahore Gate.—The most frequented gate of the Fort is entered from the Chándní Chauk, the most important street of Delhi. Aurangzeb protected the gate by a barbican, for, while the gate itself faces the west, the entrance to the barbican, which has a deep moat underneath, is on the north. In front of the barbican of this gate, as in that of the Delhi Gate, there was a drawbridge, which was re-placed with a bridge of stone and masonry, 52 feet long and 27 feet wide, by Akbar II. who put up the following inscription over the arch :

"O ! The Independent !
In the fifth year of the reign,
1226 Hijri.
1811 A. D.

During the reign of a king like unto Jamshaid [in dignity], Muhammad Akbar Bádsháh, Ghází, Sáhib Qiran Sání, under the superintendence of Dilawar-ul-Dowlah Robert Macpherson, Bahádur, Daler Jang, this graceful building was erected."

The barbican encloses a square piece of ground; its walls, with the embattled parapet, are about 40 feet high ; on the corners of the western wall are open pavilions with domes

surmounted by marble pinnacles. The entrance into the barbican is an arched gateway. 40 feet high and 24 feet wide, the top of which rises about eight feet above the enclosure walls and is surmounted by an embattled parapet flanked by two slim 10 feet high, minarets, all built of red sand-stone.

The Lahore Gate is lofty and arched; it is 41 feet high and 24 feet wide, contains three storeyed rooms, and is flanked by half octagonal towers, which also afford accommodation to the residents of the fort.* The towers are surmounted by open octagonal pavilions; between the parapets of the towers, is the parapet over the centre of the gateway. Over the latter parapet is a row of seven small open ornamental arches, about 3 feet high, of red sandstone; over this there are seven minature marble domes corresponding with the arches, and the whole of this ornamental balustrade is flanked by marble minarets, slim and tapering, crowned with marble ornaments shaped like a lantern. So far, the description of this gate applies to the gate on the southern side of the fort, known as the Delhi Gate, and so called after the Delhi Gate of the city which faces the ruins of the Delhi of Sher Sháh.

On entering the Lahore Gate, the visitor finds himself under a masonry arcade about 230 feet long and about 13 feet wide, having an octagonal court, about 30 feet in diameter in the middle, for the admission of light and air. On the right and left of this little court, there are small gateways which at one time led into the most crowded quarters of the fort. Writing of this arcade, Bishop Heber calls it: "the noblest gateway and vestibule which I ever saw," "a long vaulted aisle like that of a Gothic cathedral entered through a Gothic archway, a fine arched passage about 300 feet long." On both sides of the covered arcade, there are 32 arched rooms on a plinth about 4 feet high, occupied as shops and once known as the Covered Bazaar, which may be seen now as Bernier saw it about 200 years ago.

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* They were occupied by the Commandant of the Palace Guard before the Mutiny. The commandant of the Palace Guard was appointed in the year 1811, when the favourite son of Akbar II. made a demonstration against the life of Mr. Seton, the then Resident of Delhi.

The Nakar Khanah.—Passing through the covered bazaar of the Lahore Gate, the visitor entered a well kept square about 200 feet long and 140 feet broad, surrounded by a range of arcade dapartments where, in olden days, the Omrahs had their quarters when on the King's guard. On the south-western corner of the square stood certain public buildings where the Emperor's Nazir transacted business. In the centre of the square was a tank, fed by a canal which divided the square into two equal parts; on either side of the canal was a wide road-way which followed the course of the canal from north to south: going northward to the royal gardens and southward to the Delhi Gate.* In front of the tank and opposite the inner entrance of the Lahore Gate bazaar, within an enclosure of stone railing was stood the Nakár Khánah, or the Music Hall, a two storeyed red-stone building, which, notwithstanding the alterations it has undergone to meet the exigencies of a military garrison, continues much the same as it was.

Neither the walls of this square, the tank, the public buildings nor the stone railings of the Nakár Khánah are now in existence. † Between the entrance of the bazaar and the Nakár khánah the ground has been cleared and levelled, and there is nothing to mark the site of the buildings which once formed the right and left wings of the Music Hall of Sháh Jahán. Five times a day the Royal band used to strike up in this lofty Hall; on Sundays the music was kept up almost the whole day, "because it was a day sacred to the sun;" and the same honour was paid to the day of the week on which the King was born. Bernier who was "stunned" by the noise and found it unbearable at first, at last grew accustomed to "the royal music" and discovered grandeur, solemnity and even melody in it.

The Nakár Khánah is built on a 3 feet high plinth which is now extended from one end of the building to

* Bernier describes these streets as being raised about 4½ feet from the ground, and about 4 feet wide in front of a row of arched rooms.—"closed arcades"—running the entire length of the street. Here the inferior officials used to transact business and the inferior Omrahs used to mount guard.

† The rooms, of the Nakár Khánah were originally open; but now that the building is occupied as quarters for the officers of the garrison, some of the arches have been closed with masonry walls.

the other; the arched gateway in the centre of the building is no longer used as such. The Music Hall is 100 feet long, 70 feet broad and 46 feet high, from the level of the floor to the top of the roof, exclusive of the corner pavilions which may be reckoned at another 10 feet from the roof. The gateway is 29 feet high and 16 feet wide; on either side of it are double-storeyed rooms, with arched doors; over these rooms and the gateway a row of five rooms with arched doors forms a sort of third storey to the structure. There are steps in the southern and western walls of the building leading to the rooms above. On the north-western and the south-western corners of the roof, there are square open pavilions each surmounted by a dome on four stone pillars, with a deep stone weathering under the dome. The Nakár Khánah itself was a sort of gateway which led into the courtyard of the Díwán 'Am, which will be next described.

The Nakár Khánah was also known as the Hathiapol, or the Elephant Gate, a circumstance which I have not been able to reconcile with Bernier's description of the elephants at the palace gate, and the learned discussions which it has led to. According to General Cunningham, these elephants were put up "outside the Delhi gate of the citadel," and he states this on the authority of Bernier himself; Mr. Keene, who has also studied the subject with great care, is of opinion that they "once stood outside what from the description was probably the Lahore Gate, and not the "Delhi Gate" or main barbican of the Palace." Both General Cunningham and Mr. Keene appear to me to be labouring under a mistake. Mr. Keene has simply no authority for his statement, and Bernier's description does not justify that of General Cunningham. "I find nothing remarkable at the entry of the palace," writes Bernier, "but two great elephants of stone, which are on the two sides of one of the gates; upon one of them is the statue of Jamel, the famous Raja of Chitor and upon the other that of Patta, his brother. * * These two great elephants, together with the two resolute men sitting on them, do, at the first entry into this fortress, make an impression of greatness and awful terror." Bernier does not mention the name of the gate, nor does he describe the entrance of the fort, but of *the palace*; his descrip-

tion would better apply to the gateway known as the NakárKhanáh or Hathia-pol, rather than to the Delhi or the Lahore Gate of the Fort. Again, Bernier's descriptions of the two "chief gates" are so far faulty that they jumble together the features of the two gates, and the description, therefore, is correct of neither. Uninterrupted tradition, supported by the name of the locality, places the elephants in front of the gate which was known after them as the Hathia-pol.

Franklin, who visited Delhi in 1793 and made enquiry after the statues, was informed, that "they were removed by order of Aurangzeb as savouring too much of idolatry, and he enclosed the place were they stood with a screen of red stone which has disfigured the entrance." I have not been able to trace this information to any reliable source, neither do I believe that the statues stood within the out-works of either the Lahore or the Delhi Gate of the Fort. Native accounts ascribe to Aurangzeb not only the removal of the elephants but also their destructon, and judging from the condition in which one of them was discovered, buried under the accumulated ruins of years, these accounts appear to me to be trustworthy. I see no reason to question Bernier's statements that the statues were made by Akbar, and it is not unlikely that Sháh Jahán brought them from Agra, where they originally stood in front of the river gate of the fort. The statues represented Jamel and Patta, two Rajput warriors who held Chitor against Akbar. The elephants and the figures who rode them were semi-colossal; each elephant carried two riders, the foremost probably represented the driver and the second the Rajput chief; but whether it carried more than two figures I am unable to say; from the remains now in the Delhi Museum we can be certain only of two. The ruined fragments of one of the elephants were discovered in the fort and were successfully put up by Mr. Campbell in the Queen's Gardens at Delhi. *

* The following inscription, engraved on the platform over which the elephant stands, is only partially true :—

"This elephant, a work of considerable but unknown antiquity, was brought from Gwalior and set up outside the south gate of his new palace by the Emperor Sháh Jahán, A. D. 1645. Removed thence and broken into a thousand fragments by the Emperor Aurangzeb, it remained forgotten and buried underground for more than a century and a half, and until, having been recovered, it was set up here. A. D. 1866."

The statues of Jamel and Patta may be seen in the verandah of the Museum, and the two mutilated trunks lying beside them may probably belong to those of the elephant drivers.

Through the gateway of the Nakár Khánah you passed into the courtyard of the Hall of Public Audience—the renowned Díwán 'Am. The impressive ceremonies, which were observed on State occasions in the Court of the Grand Moghal commenced here. Underneath the arch of the Nakár Khánah gateway none but Princes of the blood royal could pass mounted; ambassadors, ministers, and grandees of the highest dignity, alighted here and walked on foot. Even in the last days of a subsidised Moghal Emperor, this entrance was jealously guarded, and when Mr. Francis Hawkins, Resident at Delhi, (a gentleman whose energy went far beyond his discretion) was removed from his appointment, the most serious charge preferred against him was, that he had violated the sanctity of the royal palace by riding under the gateway of the Nakár Khánah.

Diwan 'Am, or the Hall of Public Audience :—The court within which this splendid hall once stood was about 550 feet long and 300 feet wide, its walls contained arcaded apartments, in describing which Bernier remarks, that they were not unlike the *Palais Royal,* but "with this difference, however, that the arcades of the Dewán 'Am have no buildings over them. Each arcade is separated by a wall, yet in such a manner that there is a small door to pass from one to the other." The rooms were two deep, raised about 3½ feet from the ground, and were occupied by officers of the Court and Omrahs on duty. The rooms occupied by the latter were gorgeously got up on grand occasions; the pillars were covered with rich brocade, and the arches were hung with tapestry of silk and velvet of great beauty. The walls of this court were levelled with the ground after the Mutiny of 1857. Where the great hall now stands was the centre of the eastern wall of the court. On the right of the hall was a gateway which led into another court; on its left were certain houses belonging to the heir apparent, which disfigured

this grand court by their inappropriate presence, but with the rest of the court these additions of later years have also disappeared.

The hall itself, although robbed of its gilding and stucco, is yet a magnificent structure. It is built throughout of red sand-stone, and stands on a plinth fully 4 feet from the ground, 80 feet long and 40 feet broad; from the platform to the top of the roof, not including the corner pavilions, the hall is about 30 feet high. It is open on three sides, and the fourth side is a wall. There are two pavillions on the front corners of the roof of the hall, which resemble those on the Nakár Khánah. The roof is flat and is set-off by a deep stone weathering on the three open sides. The inside of the hall is divided into three rows of seven compartments each; each of these compartments is formed by four pillars, about 6 feet apart, supporting scalloped arches and ranging from the back-wall to the front of the building. The facade of the hall is formed by a row of ten magnificent columns with arches as above. The roof is supported by these arches resting on pillars as already described. There are steps on each of the three open sides of the Hall; five steps in front, and seven on each of the two sides. About 21 feet of the centre of the back-wall is faced with marble and inlaid with stones of different colours, representing trees, flowers and birds. In front of this is a marble platform, about 8 feet high and 7 feet square, on which stands a marble canopy, beautifully inlaid with coloured stones representing flowers and fancy scrolls, embellished with ornamental pendants like cones and supported by four inlaid marble pillars surmounted by pinnacles. The sides of the marble platform are ornamented with embossed wreaths of tendrils and flowers. The marble canopy and its platform do not extend over the whole breadth of the marble wall; on either side of the platform, and on a level with the marble canopy, are two heavy marble brackets which were used as seats for the King's personal attendants. In front of the canopy, there is a massive four-legged marble stand, about 3 feet high, 7 feet long, and 4 feet wide. All its inlaid ornamentations are gone. Petitions intended for the King were presented to him by the Vazir from this marble stand. Round the three open sides of the canopied throne there was a railing of plated-iron,

which enclosed the place reserved for the grandees of the Empire; this enclosure was about 40 feet long and 30 feet wide.

From the following description of the Díwán by Bernier, the reader will learn its history during the most glorious days of the Moghal Empire :—

"It is a great and stately hall, with many ranks of pillars high raised, very airy, open on three sides, looking to the Court, and having its pillars and ground painted and guilded. In the midst of the wall, which separates this hall from the seraglio, there is an opening, or a kind of great window, high and large, and so high that a man cannot reach to it from below with his hand. There it is where the King appears, seated upon his throne, having some of his sons on his sides and some eunuchs standing, some of whom drive away the flies with peacock's tails, others fan him with great fans, others stand there ready with great respect and humility for several services. Thence he sees beneath him all the Oomrahs, Rajas, and Ambassadors, who are also all of them standing upon a raised ground encompassed with silver rails, with their eyes downwards, and their hands crossing their stomach; somewhat further off he sees the man-sebdars, or lesser Oomrahs, which are also all standing in the same posture and respect as the Oomrahs do; and somewhat further off, in the remaining part of the hall, and in the Court, he sees a great crowd of all sorts of people. For there it is where the King, every day about noon, giveth a general audience to all, which is the reason that this great hall is called Am-Kas, that is, place of audience, or a place of meeting common to great and small."

Its history, before the disasters of the Indian Mutiny, will be found in the following extract from Mr. Beresford's *Guide to Delhi* :—

"It is a large hall open at three sides and supported by rows of red sand-stone pillars, formerly adorned with gilding and stucco work. In the wall at the back is a staircase that leads up to the throne, which is raised about ten feet from the ground, and is covered by a canopy supported on four pillars of white marble, the whole being curiously inlaid with mosaic work; behind the throne is a doorway by which the Emperor entered from his private apartments. The whole of the wall behind the throne is covered with mosaic paintings, in precious stones, of the most beautiful flowers, fruits, birds and beasts of Hindostan. Most of them are represented in a very natural manner. They were executed by Austin-de-Bordeaux, who, after defrauding several of the Princes of Europe by means of false gems which he fabricated with great skill, sought refuge at the Court of Sháh Jehán, where he made his fortune and was in high favour with the Emperor. In front of the throne, and slightly raised above the floor of the hall, is a large slab of

white marble, which was formerly richly inlaid with mosaic work, of which the traces only now remain."

In the midst of the mosaic paintings in the wall, on the back of the throne, the Frenchman was permitted to introduce himself in a picture, also in mosaic, representing a long yellow haired youth, Orpheus, playing upon the violin, seated upon a rock beneath a tree with a lion, a hare and a leopard charmed to rest at his feet. The whole picture was 8 feet high, and precious stones were used in the colouring of its subjects. It was taken to England in 1857 by an officer of the Delhi Field Force, and may now be seen in the Indian Museum at South Kensington.

Of what was done in front of this Hall, when the Emperor sat here in State, the following description is given by that amusing and intelligent writer, Bernier :—

"During the hour that this audience ceremony continues, a certain number of the royal horses pass before the throne, that the King may see whether they are well used and in a proper condition. The elephants come next, their filthy hides having been well washed and painted as black as ink, with two large red streaks from the top of the head down to the trunk, where they meet. The elephants are covered with embroidered cloth; a couple of silver bells are suspended to the two ends of a massy silver chain placed over their back; and white cow-tails from Great Thibet, of great value, hang from the ears like immense whiskers. Two small elephants superbly caparisoned, walk close to these colossal creatures, like slaves appointed to their service. As if proud of his gorgeous attire and of the magnificence that surrounds him, every elephant moves with a solemn and dignified step; and when in front of the throne, the driver who is seated on his shoulder, pricks him with a pointed iron, animates and speaks to him, until the animal bends one knee, lifts his trunk on high and roars aloud, which the people consider as the elephant's mode of performing the *taslim* or usual reverence.

Other animals are next introduced; tame antelopes, kept for the purpose of fighting with each other; nilgaius, or grey oxen, that appear to me to be a species of elk; rhinoceroses; large Bengal buffaloes with prodigious horns which enable them to contend against lions or tigers; tame leopards, or panthers, employed in hunting antelopes; some of the fine sporting dogs from Usbec, of every kind, and each dog with a small red covering; lastly, every species of the birds of prey used in field sports for catching partridges, cranes, hares and even, it is said, for hunting antelopes, on whom they pounce with violence, beating their heads and blinding them with their wings and claws.

Besides this procession of animals, the cavalry of one or two Oomrahs frequently pass in review before the King; the horsemen being better dressed than usual, the horses furnished with iron armour, and decorated with an endless variety of fantastic trappings.

The king takes pleasure also in having the blades of cutlasses tried on dead sheep brought before him without the entrails, and neatly bound up. Young Oomrahs, mansebdars, and gourzeberdars or mace bearers exercise their skill, and put forth all their strength to cut through the four feet, which are fastened together, and the body of the sheep at one blow.

But all these things are so many interludes to more serious matters. The king not only reviews his cavalry with peculiar attention, but there is not, since the war has been ended, a single cavalier or other soldier whom he has not inspected, and made himself personally acquainted with, increasing or reducing the pay of some and dismissing others from the service. All the petitions held up in the crowd assembled in the 'Am-Khás are brought to the king and read in his hearing; and the persons concerned being ordered to approach are examined by the monarch himself, who often redresses at the instant the wrongs of the aggrieved party. On another day of the week, he devotes two hours to hear, in private, the petitions of ten persons, selected from the lower orders, and presented to the king by a good and rich old man."

The last Moghal Emperor who used this magnificent hall or state pageantry was the unfortunate Farokhsir.

On the right of the Díwán 'Am, in the middle of the enclosure wall on that side, was an arched gateway through which you entered a small square courtyard, which is no longer in existence and of which it is not possible to give the dimensions. In the middle of the eastern wall of this square was another arched gateway, smaller than that in its western wall, which led into the courtyard of the Díwán Khás, or the Hall of Special Audience. A red cloth awning was stretched in front of this gateway which gave it the name of *Lál Pardah*, or the Red Screen.

Diwan Khas, or The Hall of Special Audience.—The courtyard which the visitor entered through the Lál Pardah was barely a fourth of that of the Díwán 'Am. The next court was about 210 feet long by 180 feet. "A very handsome and stricking Court," writes Bishop Heber, "with low but richly ornamented buildings opposite a beautiful hall of white marble." On the eastern wall of this enclosure stands the Díwán Khás; near its northern wall are the Baths of

Sháh Jahán and the Motí Masjid—Pearl Mosque—of Aurangzeb. The western wall of this court was formed by the back wall of the court just described, and on the south were the walls of a series of apartments belonging to the seraglio and the Rang Mahal.

On a marble platform about 4½ feet high, 240 feet long and 78 feet wide, stands this hall, about the finest building of its kind in India. It is simple in form and construction, being a large marble pavilion. "If not the most beautiful," says Fergusson, "certainly the most highly ornamented of all Shah Jehan's buildings." The hall is about 90 feet long and 67 feet broad, having a flat coned roof supported by scolloped arches resting on thirty-two pillars in double files. Of these pillars 24 are 4 feet square and the remaining eight are 4 feet by 2. The eastern wall of the hall, to the extent of two arches, is covered with a marble screen. The platform on which the hall stands, as well as the hall itself, is of white marble. On each of the four corners of the roof is an open square pavilion, with a dome surmounted by copper gilt pinnacle resting on four pillars.

The hall is an oblong in shape; the pillars on the short sides of the hall are narrower than those on the long sides, but in richness of decoration, they yield nothing to the other pillars. Of the outer pillars only the three inner sides are decorated; the inner pillars are decorated from the base to the capital. Each pillar is divided into three panels, the lower two being about equal, and the upper is about a third of the size of the lower panel. The lower panels represent flowers, and trees with long leaves; the upper panel contains inlaid fancy designs. The inner face of the arches, the spandrels and the pilasters which support them, are profusely decorated with flowers, leaves and tendrils in mosaic; the stones used for the purpose being green serpentine, *lapis lazuli*, blue, red and purple porphyry.

Through the Diwán Khás ran a stream of water in a marble canal about 12 feet wide and covered with flags of the same material.

The inner room of the hall is formed by twelve pillars; it is 48 feet long and 27 feet wide, and here may yet be seen the square marble platform on which

stood the world-renowned Peacock throne of Sháh Jahán. Under the cornice of this room, and directly over the corner arches of the narrow sides, in small oblong panels, may be seen the famous inscription of S'a-ád-ullah Khán, supposed to be in the hand-writing of Rashíd, the greatest caligraphist of his time: *Agar Firdaus bar rue zamín ast—hamín ast to, hamín ast to, hamín ast:* If there is a paradise on earth, it is this, it is this, it is this. Bernier's description of this hall is rather meagre: "the hall is, however, very handsome, spacious, gilt and painted, and raised four or five French feet from the pavement, like a large estrade. It is in this palace that the King, seated in a chair, his Oomrahs standing round him, grants more private audiences to his officers, receives their reports and deliberates on important affairs of state" The following description is taken from Franklin's contributions to the Asiatic Society of Bengal :—

"On entering the third and last square, the Dewán Khás, or hall of Nobles, bursts upon the view with all its splendour, forming the river face of the Court, and raised on a terrace four feet above the level of the pavement; the whole building, inside or out, and the open terraces and pavements, are of white marble; the roof is supported on thirty-two square columns, ornamented to the height of six feet, with rich inlaid flower-work of red cornelians and other precious stones; the remainder, as well as the cornices, being decorated with a profusion of golden ornaments. The hall is fifty feet by twenty-four, with an open verandah all round, ten feet wide; in this is a beautiful crystal, eighteen inches high and four feet in diameter. His Majesty usually occupies a temporary throne; the ceiling is of wood painted red, and richly decorated with gold; it was formerly encrusted with a rich silver foliage inlaid with gold, at the expense of thirty-nine lacks of rupees; the Maharatas took it down, and on sending it to the mint to be coined, it produced twenty-eight lacks. On a compartment over the cornice on the outside are these lines in the Persian character, in letters of gold: "if there is as Paradise on earth, this is it, 'tis this, 'tis this." The roof is surmounted at the angles with four pavilions; the ornaments of brass on the cupolas being richly gilt. On State occasions, the hall is adorned with an awning of scarlet cloth of gold, fastened by cotton ropes of various colours; Kanauts or screens of the same description enclose the open terraces which are forty-four feet by thirty-five; on one side the terrace leads to a painted room, through which the King retires to the harem; on the other to a small but beautiful mosque of white marble, with domes of brass so richly gilt as to give it the appearance of pure gold."

The Peacock throne was broken up and all that was of value in it was taken away by Nádir Sháh after his occupation of Delhi in 1739. Bernier, who saw the throne in the reign

of Aurangzeb, thus describes it, and the festive occasions when it was displayed to the world :—

"The throne was supported by six massy feet, said to be of solid gold, sprinked over with rubies, emeralds, and diamonds. I cannot tell tell you with accuracy the number or value of this vast collection of precious stones, because no person may approach sufficiently near to reckon them, or judge of their water and clearness; but I can assure you that there is a confusion of diamonds, as well as other jewels, and that the throne, to the best of my recollection, is valued at four crores of rupees. I observed elsewhere that a lac is one hundred thousand rupees, and that a crore is a hundred lacs; so that the throne is estimated at forty millions of rupees. It was constructed by Shah Jehan, the father of Aurengzebe, for the purpose of displaying the immense quantity of precious stones accumulated successively in the treasury from the spoils of ancient Rajahs and Patans, and the annual presents to the Monarch which every omrah is bound to make on certain festivals. The construction and workmanship of the throne are not correspondent with the materials; but two peacocks, covered with jewels and pearls, are well conceived and executed. They were made by a workman of astonishing powers, a Frenchman by birth, who, after defrauding several of the Princes of Europe, by means of false gems, which he fabricated with peculiar skill, sought refuge in the great Mogul's court, where he made his fortune. At the foot of the throne were assembled all the omrahs in splendid apparel upon an estrade surrounded by a siver railing and covered by a spacious canopy of brocade with deep fringes of gold. The pillars of the hall were hung with brocades of a gold ground and flowered satin ; canopies were raised over the whole expanse of the extensive apartment, fastened with red silken cords, from which were suspended large tassels of silk and gold. The floor was covered entirely with carpets of the richest silk, of immense length and breadth. A tent, called the aspek, was pitched outside, larger than the hall, to which it joined by the top. It spread over half the court, and was completely enclosed by a great balustrade covered with plates of silver. Its supporters were pillars overlaid with silver, three of which were as thick and as high as the mast of a barque, the others smaller. The outside of this magnificent tent was red, and the inside lined with elegant Masulipatam chintzes, figured expressly for that very purpose with flowers so natural aud colours so vivid that the tent seemed to be en- compassed with real parterres.

As to the arcade galleries round the court, every omrah had received orders to decorate one of them at his own expense, and there appeared a spirit of emulation who should best acquit himself to the Monarch's satisfaction. Consequently all the arcades and galleries were covered from top to bottom with brocade, and the pavement with rich carpets."

Tavernier, "that rambling jeweller, who had read nothing, but had seen so much and so well," valued the Pea-

cock throne at "two hundred millions of livres," but in spite of the laudatory accounts we have of this precious piece of court furniture, it appears to me, that its best claim to fame was its value, and that it did not pretend much to beauty of design or excellence in execution.

"Mr. Beresford's description of the throne is evidently taken from native sources:—

"In this hall was the famous Peacock Throne, so called from its having the figures of two peacocks standing behind it, their tails being expanded and the whole so inlaid with sapphires, rubies, emeralds, pearls and other precious stones of appropriate colours as to represent life. The throne itself was six feet long by four feet broad; it stood on six massive feet which, with the body, were of solid gold, inlaid with rubies, emeralds and diamonds. It was surmounted by a canopy of gold, supported by twelve pillars, all richly emblazoned with costly gems, and a fringe of pearls ornamented the borders of the canopy. Between the two peacocks stood the figure of a parrot of the ordinary size, said to have been carved out of a single emerald. On either side of the throne stood an umbrella, one of the oriental emblems of royalty; they were formed of crimson velvet richly embroidered and fringed with pearls—the handles were eight feet high, of solid gold, and studded with diamonds. The cost of this superb work has been variously stated at sums varying from one to six millions of pounds sterling. It was planned and executed under the supervision of Austin de Bordeaux, already mentioned as the artist who executed the mosaic work in the 'Am Khás."

During the reign of Akbar II. the son and successor of Sháh 'Alam, the neglected state of this grand hall struck visitors with surprise. Mr. Elliott, the Resident at Delhi, remarked to Bishop Heber, that the ruinous state of the palace "was not due to absolute poverty," but that "the men had lost all idea of cleaning and keeping in repairs" the memorials of their departed glory. In the reign of Bahádur Sháh, the son and successor of Akbar II., matters got worse; the Díwán Khás "was full of lumber of descriptions, broken palanquins, and empty boxes, and the throne was so covered with pigeon's dung that its ornaments were hardly discernible." Since the rebellion of 1857, the hall has been carefully looked after. The gilding has been very successfully restored, and the wooden ceiling has been renewed with red paint and gilt in a very creditable manner.

Strange vicissitudes have befallen this imperial hall: it

was the favourite resort of Sháh Jahán, who built it; and from here Aurangzeb issued his imperial commands which were obeyed by his lieutenants all over the vast Moghal Empire. After Nádir Sháh had destroyed the Delhi Empire on the plains of Panipat, it was in this hall of the Moghals that he exchanged turbans with his vanquished host, Muhammad Sháh, and parted with his serviceable *pagri* for the be-jewelled táj of the Emperor of Delhi. In 1760 the Díwán Khás was despoiled by the marauding hordes of Satara, and a quarter of a century later, the last independent Moghal Emperor of Delhi, Sháh 'Alam, was blinded here by an audacious soldier of fortune. About twenty years after this daring assault, the same sovereign received the English General, Lord Lake, in his Hall of Special Audience and thanked the British Government for his deliverance from the hands of the French hirelings of Scindia. A little over half a century after this event, in 1857, the grandson of Sháh 'Alam, as the titular King of Delhi, received the native officers of the British Indian Army who had assembled here to offer him once more the Empire of India. The Díwán Khás is famous alike for the historical associations which surround it, and for the elaborate decorations which once gave it the title of a Paradise on earth.

Hammam, or The Baths.—On the north of the Díwán Khás are the Royal Baths; the two buildings are united by a marble-paved floor about 46 feet wide. In the centre of the southern wall of the baths, facing the Díwán Khás, there is a hall with three arched doors which is the recognised entrance to the baths. On either side of this hall there are two rooms and through the centre of the hall the visitor enters the baths, which consist of three beautiful roomy apartments, paved with white marble. The pavement throughout these rooms, the walls up to the waist, "the reservoirs, and the vapour slabs were originally inlaid with rare and precious stones of various colours, representing flowers and branches, executed with great taste." There are three reservoirs for water in the apartment which overlooks the river; and in its eastern wall there is a small marble balcony, on either side of which the wall is pierced by a window covered with marble lattice work. In the second apartment there is only one such reservoir, and

in the centre of the third apartment there is a vapour slab of great beauty. Behind this is the stove which used to supply the bath with hot water; "fountains were placed in the centre, with passages to carry the water into the different apartments," and the light was admitted by windows of stained glass.

Moti Masjid, or the Pearl Mosque of Lal Qil'ah.—This Masjid was built by Aurangzeb, in the year 1070 A. H. (1659 A. D.) in the Lál Qila'h of Sháh Jahán at a cost of 160,000 rupees of the time; it is most exquisitely finished and is built throughout of marble. It was used as the private chapel of the Emperors of Delhi, and was damaged by a gun-shot during the mutiny of 1857, but has since been repaired with great success. Though very small, it is about the prettiest building of its kind in India. The entrance of the mosque is a small marble gate-way having two doors at right angles to each other The court of the mosque, which is 40 feet by 35 feet, is paved with marble and enclosed by walls about twenty feet high; the outer face of the walls is covered with red sandstone, and the inner with marble; they are divided into broad panels, and ornamented with pilasters surmounted by beautiful marble minarets.

In the northern wall of the enclosure there is a passage intended for the use of the ladies of the Imperial household who attended prayers at the mosque. In the centre of the court there is a marble tank, about ten feet by eight, which was filled by the canal which once flowed through the garden of Haiyát Baksh.

The body of the mosque is about 40 feet by 30 feet; it is about 25 feet high from the floor to the roof, and about 12 feet more from the roof to the top of the centre pinnacle. It is entered through three low but very pretty scalloped arches, raised by four steps in front; the plinth, which is very elegantly inlaid with black marble, is about 3½ feet high; the four pillars which support those arches have polished shafts and engraved bases and capitals. The side arches are about eight feet wide, while the centre arch is about double their size; behind these arches there is another row of three arches supported by elegant pillars, thus giving the

mosque a set of six rooms in two rows. In the back wall of the mosque are the usual arched recesses, one in each room; the centre arch is deeper and wider than those on its sides. The arches in front are flanked by small minarets, and over each of the side arches is a marble ledge. The parapet over the roof is narrow but ornamented; that over the centre arch is arched; those on the two sides are flat. The domes are of white marble and boldly ribbed; they are more bulbous than the domes of earlier Moghal buildings, and are surmounted by richly copper-gilt pinnacles.

Tasbih Khanah, Khwabgah and Baitak.—Corresponding to the Royal Baths, and on the south of the Díwán Khás, is a suite of rooms, built throughout of marble and divided into two equal parts by the marble canal already described. Between these rooms and the Díwán Khás, the pavement is of marble and is about 46 feet wide.

The Tasbíh Khánah, Kháwbgah and Baitak form one building; the former consists of a row of three rooms facing the Díwán Khás; a second row of three rooms behind this is known as the Kháwbgah and the adjoining hall, which is about half the width of the Kháwbgah, was indiscriminately called the Baitak or the Toshah Khánah. The three apartments together may be equal in size to the Díwán Khás. There is nothing particular to notice either in the Tasbíh Khánah or the Baitak; the Kháwbgah, however, deserves more than passing attention. As already stated, it is the name of the three rooms in the centre of the building; the middle room is about 45 feet by 18 feet, those on its east and on its west are about half its size. The three rooms communicate with one another through arched doors in the centre room; the walls were at one time inlaid with precious stones which were pillaged by the attendants of the court and have recently been repaired with great success. In the northern and the southern walls of the centre room there are arched doors covered with marble screens, and under the arches there are inscriptions of historical fame—the work of Sá'ad-ullah Khán, the Wazír of Sháh Jahán. On the outer eastern face of

the door of this room there is another inscription, which is also said to be the work of the same author.*

On the northern screen of the centre room, there is an embossed symbolical representation of justice: the scales of justice are held over a crescent, in the midst of stars rising out of clouds.

* [ENGLISH TRANSLATION OF THE INSCRIPTION ON THE SOUTHERN ARCH.]
God is Great.

"God is holy! how beautiful are these painted mansions and charming residences. [They are a] part of the high heaven. I may say the high-souled angels are desirous of looking at them. If people from different parts and directions [of the world] should come [here] to walk round them as [they walk] round the old house [Kabah], it would be right; or if the beholders of the two worlds should run to kiss their highly glorious threshold as [they kiss] the black stone [of Kabah], it would be proper. The commencement of this great fort, which is higher than the palace of the heavens and is the envy of the wall of Alexander; and of this elegant edifice: and of the garden of Haiyát Baksh, which is to these buildings as the soul is to the body, and the lamp to an assembly; and of the pure canal, the limpid water of which is to the person possessing sight as a mirror and to the wise the unveiler of the secret world; and of the water-falls, each of which you may say is the whiteness of the morning, or a tablet of secret taken from the Table and the Pen [of Fate]; and of the playing fountains each of which is a cloud of light.

[ENGLISH TRANSLATION OF THE INSCRIPTION ON THE NORTHERN ARCH.]

Rising to meet the inhabitants of heaven and raining bright pearls to reward the inhabitants of the earth; and of the tank, full of the water of life, [and] owing to its purity the envy of the light and the sun, was announced on the 12th Zílhij in the 12th holy year of the ascension, corresponding to 1048 A. H., the tidings of happiness to men. The completion of it at the expense of 50 lacs of rupees, by the power of the blessed feet of the sovereign of the earth, the Lord of the world, the originator of these buildings, Sháhábuddín Muhammad, the second lord of felicity. Sháh Jahán the victorious Emperor, opened on the 24th Rabí-ul-Avval in the 21st blessed year of the ascension, corresponding to 1058 A. H., the door of blessing to the world.

[ENGLISH TRANSLATION OF THE VERSES ON THE WALL.]

May the Emperor of the world, Sháh Jahán, by his good fortune, the second lord of felicity, live magnificently for ever in his Kingly palace as the sun [lives] in the sky. May the palace of his good fortune touch the highest heaven as long as this building cannot stand without a foundation. Wonderfully charming is this adorned palace, being like a paradise adorned with hundred beauties. Greatness is like a text from the Scriptures in its praise. Blessedness is in the embraces of its hall [word missing.] Whosoever with sincerity bows down to it, his honor increases like that of the river. When time erected this palatial hall, it set a mirror before the face of the sun. The face of its wall is so decorated, that it demands from the painters of China a tribute. Time has stretched its hands of protection over it; the sky borrows its height from it. In its river-like fountains and tanks the sky washes its face with the water of the earth. It being the seat of the first of Kings, it is the King of all other buildings."

I am indebted for the translation of these three inscriptions to Lálá Pyáre Lál, Curator of Government Books, Lahore.

Musamman Burj—Adjoining the eastern wall of the Khwábgáh, and overlooking the river, is the domed balcony with which Bernier, who however had never seen it, was so much charmed. It is an octagonal room surmounted by a dome, which was once cased in copper-gilt, and is now covered with lime plaster. Three out of the eight sides of this room are cut off by the Khwábgáh, and of the remaining five sides which overlook the river, four are covered with marble screens; in front of the fifth, which is the middle of the Búrj, there is a small covered balcony which was added by Akbar II. who also engraved two inscriptions under its arches.*

"The Eunuchs," says Bernier, writing of the Mussamman Búrj, "speak with extravagant praise of a small tower, facing the river, which is covered with plates of gold in the same manner as the towers of Agra; and its azure apartments are decorated with gold and azure, exquisite paintings and magnificent mirrors."

Rang Mahal—Is now occupied as the Mess-room of the officers of the European regiment quartered in the Fort. It is an oblong building, with a flat roof and arched doors in the style of the Díwán Khás. The roof is protected by a plain parapet, and, on each of its four corners, there is an open square pavilion supported by four stone pillars. With the exception of the inner walls of the rooms, which are, "up to

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* [English translation of the first inscription:]

On the face of Mussamman Búrj, built anew.
Such a seat that the sun and the moon turned their eyes to it.
Sayyad-ul-Shôrá was ordered to ascertain its date,
[In order] that the black record may remain on the white [ground].
The Sayyad gave the date of the building in the following sentence:
Let this be a seat with an exalted foundation [the work] of Akbar Shah.
Praise and thankfulness are worthy of the Lord of the world,
Who has made a King of the age, of such an Emperor;
One who is descended from a royal father and grand father, [even] from Timúr,
The protector of mankind, the dweller in sky-like mansions; [the master] of star-like soldiers:
M'úin-uddín Abú-ulnasar Akbar, Ghází,
King of the world; conqueror of the age; shadow of God.

[English translation of the second inscriplion:—]

O [Thou who has] fetters on your legs, and a padlock on your heart, beware!
[Thou] whose eyelids are sewn up, and whose feet are deep in the mire, beware!
Thou art bound towards the west; but thou hast turned thy face to the east;
O Traveller! Thou hast turned thy back on thy destination, beware!

the waist," covered with marble, the building is constructed of grey sandstone. The deep stone ledge under the roof, which is common to the other buildings in the Fort, is not missed here.

Asad Burj—Is a tower on the south-eastern corner of the Fort and is now occupied by the officers of the garrison. When Harnáth Chela attacked Delhi in 1803, and Ochterlony made his gallant and successful defence of the place, this Búrj was much damaged, but was repaired at the expense of Akbar II.

Shah Burj—Is the last of the three important towers of Lál Qil'ah. It stands on the river, at a short distance on the north of the Hammam and not far from Fort Salímghar. It is three-storeyed, and presents a fine view from the opposite side of the river. In 1784, Jawán Bakht, the eldest son of Sháh 'Alam, made his escape from this Búrj by a ladder of turbans, and eluded the vigilance of his father's ministers.

Lal Qil'ah in the reign of Aurangzeb.—I proceed to give a short account of the citadel of Sháh Jahán during the reign of Aurangzeb, when it might be said to be in the height of its glory. For purposes of security, Aurangzeb built a barbican before each of the two main gates (Lahore and Delhi) of the fort; and he added to the marble buildings of the citadel the exquisite mosque, known as Motí Masjid. Since then, nothing has been added to the Lál Qil'ah which did not detract from its glory. I purpose to describe the interior of the fort before neglect and despoliation had done so much towards its ruin. Entering the fort at the Lahore Gate, you pass through a covered vestibule in the centre of which there is a large sky-light, and on either side of it there were two narrow lanes, at right angles to the vestibule. The lane on the right of the visitor led into a garden beyond which there were two blocks of buildings, the one stretching southward towards the Delhi Gate for over 300 yards, and the other from the western wall of the fort towards the east for about 150 yards. These buildings were occupied by minor officials, either as private residences or for the discharge of public business. To the left of the visitor the lane led into a broad street, from which branched off other

lanes and cross-lanes, towards the northern wall of the fort; the whole of the ground here was covered with buildings which were used as Imperial workshops, and which Bernier describes in one of his letters to Monsieur de la Mohte le Vayer :—" Large halls are seen in many places, called Kár Khánahs or workshops for the artisans. In one hall, embroiderers are busily employed, superintended by a master. In another, you see the goldsmiths; in a third, painters; in a fourth, varnishers in lacquer; in a fifth, joiners, turners, tailors and shoemakers; in a sixth, manufacturers of silk brocade and those fine muslins of which are made turbans, girdles with golden flowers, and drawers worn by females, so delicately fine as frequently to wear out in one night. * * The artisans repair every morning to their respective Kár Khánahs, where they remain employed the whole day; and in the evening return to their homes." Walking down the vestibule, due east, the visitor entered the court-yard of the Nakár Khánah; in the centre of the eastern wall of this enclosure was the Na kár Khánah, while the courtyard itself was divided into two small squares by a road which ran from north to south. To the south, the road extended to the Delhi Gate of the fort, and to the north into the garden so well known as the Mehtáb Bágh, and thence to the northern wall of the fort. This road was fully 700 yards long and is thus described by Bernier,—the reader, however, should bear in mind that Bernier's description refers specially to that portion of the road which extended from the court of the Nakár Khánah to the Delhi Gate.

" The other principal gate of the fortress also conducts to a long and tolerably wide street, which has a divan on both sides bordered by shops instead of arcades. Properly speaking, this street is a bazar, rendered very convenient in the summer and the rainy season by the long and capacious arched roof with which it is covered. Air and light are introduced by several large and round apertures in the roof."

Through the Nakár Khánah, the visitor had access to the court-yard of the Díwán 'Am. To the north of this was the imperial kitchen, and further north again were the gardens of Mehtáb Bágh and of Haiyat Baksh. Beyond this was ano ther branch of the canal, which ran due east, to the Sháh

Búrj, and from here to the northern wall of the fort the ground was occupied by the imperial stables. To the south of the Díwán 'Am, there were a series of Mahals belonging to the imperial seraglios, and the residences of the nobles of the Imperial Court, which stretched to the southern wall of the fort. "Besides these two streets," writes Bernier, "the citadel contains smaller ones both to the right and to the left, leading to the quarters where the Omrahs mount guard during four and twenty hours in regular rotation once a week. The places where their duty is performed may be called splendid, the Omrahs making it a point to adorn them at their own expense. In general, they are spacious divans or alcoves facing a flower garden, embellished by small canals of running water, reservoirs and jets d'eau." Of the seraglio, which Bernier had not seen, the following description occurs in his *Travels*: "You must be content therefore with such a general description as I have received from some of the eunuchs. They inform me that the seraglio contains beautiful apartments, separated, and more or less spacious and splendid, according to the rank and income of the females. Nearly every chamber has its reservoir of running water at the door; on every side are gardens, delightful alleys, shady retreats, streams, jets d'eau, grottoes, deep excavations that afford shelter from the sun of day, lofty divans and terraces on which to sleep coolly at night. Within the walls of this enchanting place, in fine, no oppressive or inconvenient heat is felt."

To the north-east of the Díwán 'Am courtyard, was an arched gateway through which the visitor entered a small square, and through a gateway in its eastern wall he found his way into the court of the Díwán Khás. To the north of the courtyard are the Moti Masjid and the imperial baths, and further north the garden of Haiyát Baksh, the Sháh Búrj and the canal; beyond which again private dwellings extended to the northern wall of the fort. Immediately to the south-west of the Díwán Khás and behind the Díwán 'Am was Imtiáz Mahal, and Rang Mahal; and to their south—between the southern wall of the fort and the walls of the two mahals—the ground was covered with private mahals of more or less pretension, and at the corner of this block of buildings was the Asad Búrj. The buildings we have just described form the river face of the fort.

The general appearance of the interior of the fort was much altered during the reign of Muhammad Sháh, and after the troubles which succeeded the massacre of Delhi by Nádir Sháh, this memorial of the most glorious period of Muhammadan ascendancy in India, which the polished taste and the abundant treasury of a vast empire had called into existence, was permitted to sink into ruin and decay. Squalid huts stood cheek and jowl with royal apartments, while more pretentious, though hardly less objectionable, buildings, the additions of later days, filled up some of the open spaces which had served to show to advantage those noble buildings with which Sháh Jahán had adorned his capital. Disfigured walls, pillars robbed of their ornaments, royal seats incumbered with the dust of years, pavilions and towers dismantled and in ruin, met the eyes of those who had read and wondered at the accounts which the curious travellers and the more trustworthy writers of history had furnished of the Palace of Sháh Jahán.

One traveller in particular, Franklin, thus writes of the desolation he witnessed in Lál Qil'ah: "The remainder of the public buildings are in a ruinous state. The etiquette of the Court is still kept up, as much as possible, as it was in the time of Sháh Jahán; but, alas, how much fallen, from the splendour and opulence which distinguished that reign! Wood and some coarse *karwa* cloth have supplied the place of those pillars of gold and silver, that formely supported awnings of embroidered cloth or velvet which went round every apartment. The ceilings of massive silver gilt have made room for more modest ones of painted wood; in short, every step one takes in the palace shews what it was once and how fallen it is at present, even the very walls have not escaped the depredation of mischievous avarice; they are of fine white marble (particularly in the garden) in most of the public apartments; inlaid with onyx, agate, and cornelians, almost everywhere the marbles have been picked for the small pieces of the precious stones."

After the mutiny of 1857, the fort was adapted to the wants of a European garrison. Two-storeyed barracks have been built within the fort walls, and the rooms over the Lahore and the Delhi Gates, the Nakár Khánah and

the towers known as the Asad and the Sháh Búrj are occupied by the officers of the garrison.*

Modern Delhi, or Shahjahanabad.—The city of Sháh Jahán was founded ten years after the building of its citadel, or Lál Qil'ah, in the year 1058 A. H. (1648 A. D.) The shape of the city is semi-circular; according to others an irregular quadrant, the rectilineal lines of which face the east and the north, or, as Polier describes it, a bow with the string towards the river. About half of its eastern face is formed by its citadel, and the circuit of its walls is nearly 5½ miles.†

Von Orlich calls the capital of Sháh Jahán the "Indian Rome," and dwells with admiration "on the mosques, palaces, pavilions, halls, gardens and mausoleums of the Emperors and their consorts and the great men of the Empire." Writing of Sháhjahánábád and its environs, Franklin remarks, that "the best point of view from whence the city and circumjacent buildings and ruins appear to the greatest advantage is from the river Jumna, immediately in front of the palace, and about three miles distant; this spot commands in all directions. The splendid ruins of the forts of Shere Sháh and Feroze; the mausoleum of Humáyoon raised on its noble terrace, and towering above innumerable mosques, some with marble, others adorned with enamelled domes; the lofty pillar of the Kutb, bounded by a range of bleak hills; the uneven ground on which the capital is built, the white aspect of its marble buildings, the gilt domes, the magnificent walls and gateways of red stone, broken by the towering height of the minarets and domes of the Juma and Zeenut mosques, present views at once interesting and magnificent."

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* Mr. Fergusson, in his invaluable *History of Indian and Eastern Architecture*, indignantly protests against the military occupation of Lál Qil'ah. He disbelieves the military excuse for "this deliberate act of Vandalism," and thinks it "ridiculous to fancy that the diminished and unarmed population of the city could ever dream" of a sudden rising. Mr. Fergusson commits himself to other opinions which, in a learned treatise on Architecture, are much to be regretted, even if it were possible for us to endorse them.

† Colonel Polier gives the circumference of the city as 10 miles; Franklin as 7 miles, and Captain Archer as "about 5 miles; the two ends finish at the east and west ends of the palace."

Native authorities allow only seven years for the building of the city, and the extent and nature of the work do not render their calculation untrustworthy.

Bernier gives the following description of the city as he saw it in the year 1663 :—" It is about 40 years ago that the Sháh Jáhan, the father of the present Maghul Aurangzebe, conceived the design of immortalizing his name by the erection of a city near the site of the ancient Delhi. This new capital he called after his own name, Sháhjahánábád, or, for brevity, Jahánábád ; that is to say, the colony of Sháh Jahán. Here he resolved to fix his court, alleging, as the reason of its removal from Agra, that the excessive heat to which that city is exposed during summer rendered it unfit for the residence of a monarch The materials for the new city were furnished, in great measure, by the neighbouring ruins ; and hence foreigners confounded both cities under the general appellation of Delhi, though, in India, the new capital is most frequently called by the name which it received from its founder. For the sake of convenience, however, I chose rather to comply with the custom of Europe."

" Delhi, then, is an entirely new city, situated in a flat country on the banks of the Jumna, a river which may be compared to the Loire, and built on one bank only, in such a manner that it terminates in this place very much in the form of a crescent, having but one bridge of boats to cross to the country. Excepting the side where it is defended by the river, the city is encompassed by walls of brick. The fortifications however are very incomplete, as there are neither ditches nor any other kind of additional defence, if we except flanking towers of antique shape, at intervals of about one hundred paces, and a bank of earth forming a platform behind the walls, four or five French feet in thickness. Although these works encompass not only the city but the citadel, yet their extent is less than is generally supposed. I have accomplished the circuit with ease in the space of three hours, and notwithstanding I rode on horseback, I do not think my progress exceeded a French league per hour. In this computation, I do not however, include the

suburbs, which are considerable, comprising a long chain of buildings on the side of Lahore, the extensive remains of the old city, and three or four smaller suburbs. By these additions the extent of the city is so much increased, that a straight line may be traced in it of more than a French league and a half; and though I cannot undertake to define exactly the circumference, because these suburbs are interspersed with extensive gardens and open spaces, yet you must see that it is very great."

In 1803, after the occupation of Delhi by the British troops under General Lake and the defence of that city against the Mahrattas by Colonel Ochterlony, the walls of the place were considerably improved and strengthened. The weak, old round towers were enlarged and rendered capable of mounting nine guns each; as the curtains were a little too extensive, in 1811, small martello towers were erected to bring the foot of the walls under the fire of musketry; a regular glacis was formed all round the land-faces of the walls, and a ditch was made under them. The tomb and college of Ghází-uddín, which were outside the city walls and in front of the Ajmer Gate, were taken in, and in the year 1811 the enclosure was completed and the whole of that block of buildings came within the city of Modern Delhi.

The original walls of the city were built, we are told, at a cost of a lac and a half of rupees, and were fortified with a parapet with loop holes for musketry. The old walls are said to have been finished in four months, but were very soon destroyed by rain, and new masonry walls were subsequently built in seven years and at a cost of four lacs of rupees. The masonry walls were 6664 yards long, 4 yards wide and 9 yards high, with twenty-seven towers about thirty feet in diameter. The city has fourteen gates and fourteen wickets.*

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* Franklin reckons, from the garden of Shálamár on the north-west and the Quth Minár on the south-east, and from the Ajmir Gate to Tughlaqábád, a circumference of 20 miles. Of the ruins covering this interesting tract, Bishop Heber says. "A very awful scene of desolation, ruins after ruins, tombs after tombs, fragments of brick-work, freestone, granite and marble scattered everywhere over a soil naturally rocky and barren, without cultivation except in one or two small spots, and without a single tree."

Starting from the Kashmir Gate—on the north of the city, and rendered famous since by the assault and capture of Delhi by British troops in September 1857,—we go round the city of Delhi and pass the other gates in the following order : —

II. Morí Gate, to north ; demolished in 1867, and the grounds behind the gate opened out.
III. Kabul Gate to west ; the rest of the above remark applies to this gate.
IV. Lahore Gate, to west.
V. Ajmer Gate, to south-west.
VI. Turkman Gate, to south.
VII. Delhi Gate, to south.
VIII. Khayráthí Gate, to east.
IX. Ráj Ghát Gate, to east, on river face.
X. Calcutta Gate, to north-east, now no longer in existence ; built in 1852.
XI. Kelá Ghát Gate, to north-east, on river face.
XII. Nigambodh Gate to north-east, on river face.
XIII. Pathár Gháti Gate, destroyed.
XIV. Badar Ráo Gate, to north-east.

The Khirkís, or wickets, which were constructed for the convenience of the residents of the different *muhallahs*, may be enumerated in the following order :—

I. Khirkí Zínath-ul-masjid, under the mosque of that name.
II. Khirkí Nawáb Ahmad Baksh Khán.
III. Khirkí Nawáb Ghází-uddín Khán.
IV. Khirkí Nasírganj.
V. Khirkí Naiá.
VI. Khirkí Sháhganj.
VII. Khirkí Ajmer Gate.
VIII. Khirkí Sayyad Bholá.
IX. Khirkí Baland Bágh.
X. Khirkí Farásh Kháuah.
XI. Khirkí Amír Khán.
XII. Khirkí Khalíl Khán.
XIII. Khirkí Bahádur 'Alí Khán.
XIV. Khirkí Nígambodh.

The city of Sháhjahánábád is built on two rocky eminences known as the Bhojla and the Jugla paháras, the former being nearly in the centre of the city, and the latter near its north-western walls ; the whole of the ground on which it stands slopes gently from the west to the east—from the rocky ridge to the bed of the Jumna. The canal of 'Alí Mardán enters the city near the Kabul Gate, flows, with very little

variation in its course, through the city and the citadel, and then empties itself into the river.

Under the walls of the citadel there were several gardens, although in Bernier's time there was only "one large garden, filled at all times with flowers and green shrubs, which, confronted with the stupendous red walls, produce a beautiful effect." The garden described by Bernier was in front of the Lahore Gate of the Fort, and adjoining it was the Chauk Shahí or the Royal Square, built by S'a-ád-ullah Khán, the Prime Minister of Sháh Jahán and of which Bernier has preserved the following history in one of his letters from Delhi: "Next to the garden is the great royal square, faced on one side by the gates of the fortress, and on the opposite side of which terminate the two most considerable streets of the city.* * The tents of such rajahs as are in the king's pay, and whose weekly duty it is to mount guard, are pitched in this square. * * In this place also, at break of day, they exercise the royal horses, which are kept in a spacious stable not far distant; and here the Kobat Khán, or grand muster master of the cavalry, examines carefully the horses of those who have been received in the service. * * Here too is held a bazaar or market for an endless variety of things; which, like the Pont-Neuf at Paris, is the rendezvous for all sorts of mountebanks and jugglers. Hither, likewise, the astrologers resort, both Muhammadan and Pagan." This square is no longer in existence, but, I believe, it extended on either side—that is to the north and to the south—of the Lahore Gate of the citadel.

The two principal streets of the city, which terminated at the Royal Square, are thus described by Bernier: "They run in a straight line nearly as far as the eye can reach; but the one leading to the Lahore Gate is much the longer." The other extended from the Delhi Gate of the city to the Royal Square. "In regard to houses," writes Bernier, "the two streets are exactly alike, * * there are arcades on both sides; * * they are built of brick and the top serves for a terrace and has no additional building * * they have not an uninterrupted opening from one to the other, but are generally separated by partitions, in the spaces between which are open shops, where during the day, artisans work, bankers sit for the despatch of their business and merchants exhibit their

wares. * * The houses of the merchants are built over these warehouses, at the back of the arcades; they look handsome enough from the street, and appear tolerably commodious within; they are airy, at a distance from the dust, and communicate with the terrace, on which the inhabitants sleep at night; the houses, however are not continued the whole length of the streets. A few, and only a few, other parts of the city have good houses raised on terraces, the buildings over the magazines being often too low to be seen from the street."

Another square which was called after S'a-ád-ullah Khán himself has also disappeared, but its site may be placed, on one side, between the Delhi Gate of the fort and the Soldiers' garden; and, on the other side, between the Sonehrí Masjid and the old burial ground, now marked by a Memorial Cross. The southern side of the square was entered by two streets: the Faiz Bazaar street extended due north from the Delhi Gate of the city to the Delhi Gate of the citadel, and the Khás Bazaar street, with a very short break in the middle, joined the Jám'a Masjid of Sháh Jahán with the Delhi Gate of his fort.

Of the two streets described by Bernier, the longer extended from the Lahore Gate of the city to the Lahore Gate of the citadel, and the other from the Delhi Gate of the city to the Lahore Gate of the fort. Both these streets were divided into several sections, each of which was known by a different name. The section between the Lahore Gate of the fort and the entrance of the street called the Dariba, known as the Khání Darwázah, was called the Urdi or the Military Bazaar; owing, very probably, to the circumstance of a portion of the local garrison having been once quartered about the place. Between the Khúní Darwázah and the present Kotwálí, or the Head Police Station of the city, the street has the name of Phúl ká Mandí or the flower market. The houses in front of the Kotwálí were built, at a short distance from the line of the rest of the houses in the street, so as to form a square. Between the Kotwálí and the gate known as the Taráiah, was the Jowhri or the Jewellers' Bazaar; between the Taráiah and the neighbourhood known as Asharfí ká Katrá, was, *par excellence*, the Chándní Chauk. There was a tank in the centre of the Chauk the site of which is now occupied by the Municipal Clock Tower, and beyond this to the

Fatehpúrí Masjid was the Fatehpúrí Bazaar. The houses round Chándní Chauk were of the same height, and were ornamented with arched doors and painted verandahs. To the north and south of the square there were two gate-ways, the former leading to the Sarái of Jahánárá Begam, and the latter to one of the most thickly populated quarters of the city. Round the tank the ground was literally covered with vegetable, fruit and sweetmeat stalls. In the course of time the whole of this long street came to be known as the Chándní Chauk.

This grand street was laid out by Jahánárá Begam, daughter of Sháh Jahán, in the year 1600 A. D., and several years later she built a garden and a sarái on it. From the Lahore Gate of the fort to the end of the Chándní Chauk the street was about 40 yards wide and 1520 yards long. Through the centre of this street ran the canal of 'Alí Mardán, shaded on both sides by trees. On the eastern end of the Chándní Chauk stands the Lahore Gate of the Fort, and on the opposite end the handsome mosque of Fatehpúrí Begam.

The second street of Bernier's narrative extended from the Lahore Gate of the fort to the Delhi Gate of the city. Of this the least important portion lay between the Lahore Gate and the Chauk of S'a-ád-ullah Khán The rest of this street will be described with the Chauk, which formed its northern extremity.

Another street of some importance was that which connected the Lahore Gate of the fort with a group of buildings, one of which was converted into the British Residency after the conquest of Delhi by General Lake. This street was about half a mile long and 30 feet wide, and for almost the whole of its length it was beautifully shaded by an avenue of ornamental trees.

Of the Khás Bazaar nothing now remains. After the mutiny of 1857, the Chauk of S'a-ád-ullah Khán and the Khás Bazaar were included in the clearance of the fort grounds. Both these places were once packed with rich shops and were thronged by busy crowds from day-light to dark. Through the Khás Bazaar the Emperor proceeded in state to the Jam'a Masjid on feast days.

About two-thirds of the Faiz Bazaar still remains. Shops still stand on either side of this royal street; the canal still flows through it, and the ruins of several well built and once well endowed mosques still attest the past magnificence of this favourite thoroughfare; but its glory has departed, and its neighbourhood is now the least popular part of Modern Delhi. This street was laid out by Akbarábádí Begam, the wife of Sháh Jahán; she also built here a mosque which was called after her. The Faiz Bazaar was about 1100 yards in length and 30 yards in breadth; it was built about the same time as the Urdí Bazaar, immediately after the foundation of the city, and some years before that of the Chándní Chauk by Jahanárá Begam. The aqueduct which runs through this street is 4 feet wide and five feet deep, and was constructed by the order of Sháh Jahán. The Faiz Bazaar was remarkable for shops which contained goods from Europe, "the treasures of Yarak and Khorasan, and the good things from the Sea ports."

"Of the numberless streets which cross each other," writes Bernier, "many have arcades; but having been built at different period by individuals who paid no regard to symmetry, very few are so well built, so wide, or so straight as those I have described."

The city consisted of 36 *muhallahs*, or quarters, the majority of which were named after the most renowned nobles of Delhi. "Amid these streets," writes Bernier, "are dispersed the habitations of *mansabdárs*, officers of justice, rich merchants and others; many of which have a tolerable appearance." Bernier then gives a description of a model "fine house" in Delhi, and proceeds to say:—"The dwellings of the Omrahs, though mostly situated on the banks of the river and the suburbs, are yet scattered in every direction. * * A good house has its court-yards, gardens, trees, basins of water, small jets d'eau in the hall or at the entrance, and handsome subterraneous apartments, which are furnished with large fans. * * A house to be greatly admired must be seated in the middle of a large flower garden, and should have four large divans, raised to the height of a man from the ground, and exposed to the four winds, so that the coolness may be felt from any quarter; indeed, no handsome dwelling is ever seen without terraces on which the family may sleep

during the night. They always open into a large chamber into which the bedstead is easily moved in case of rain. * * The interior of a good house has the whole floor covered with a cotton mat. Five or six feet from the floor the sides of the room are full of niches, cut in a variety of shapes, tasteful and well proportioned, in which are seen porcelain vases and flower pots. The ceiling is gilt and painted, but without pictures of man or beast, such representations being forbidden by the religion of the country."

Of the palaces of the nobles, the best known were those of Qamr-uddín Khán, and 'Alí Mardán, and in later times, those of Ghází-uddín, S'a-ádath Khán, and Safdar Jang. Colonel Polier lived in one of these palaces in 1793, during his short service under the King of Delhi, and the description of his house is worth preserving as a curiosity which may not be noticed again: "although in ruins, it bore the traces of grandeur and taste and attested the opulence and magnificence of its founder; it was surrounded by high walls and took considerable quantity of ground, having lofty arched entrances into the courtyard. To each of such palaces was attached an enclosure for horses and elephants, for visitors and their retainers. A Zanán Khánah (Seraglio), distinct from the Dewán Khánah, with private communications between them, were parts of a nobleman's residence, and each such residence was accommodated with a set of baths and under-ground cells furnished with every sort of convenience." The marble baths of S'a-ádath Khán, with their glazed sky-light, and the under-ground rooms of Safdar Jang's palace, covered with inlaid marble, and ornamented with foliage in gold, were the admiration of the Indian world.

With all that was so grand and costly, there was associated that form of undisguised poverty which results from despotism and an unequal division of power and wealth in a country. "Intermixed with these houses," writes Bernier, "is an immense number of small ones, composed of earth and straw, in which lodge the common horsemen and all that vast multitude of servants and settlers who follow the court and the army. It is owing to these thatched cottages that Delhi is subject to such frequent

conflagrations. * * It is because of these wretched clay and straw houses that I always represent to myself Delhi as a collection of many villages, or as a military encampment with a few more conveniences than are generally found in such places."

The Jam'a Masjid of Modern Delhi.—"The two principal buildings in the city," according to General Cunningham, "are the Jam'a Masjid and the Zínat Masjid. The former was built by Shahjahán in A. D. 1648, and is one of the largest and finest mosques in India." According to all native authorities, its foundation was laid on the 10th Shavvál 1060 A. H. (1650 A. D.) It stands on a high rocky ground commonly known as the Bhojla Pahár, on the western extremity of the Khás Bazaar and at a distance of about a thousand yards from Lál Qil'ah. The masjid is built on a red sand-stone terrace, about 30 feet from the level of the ground and about 1400 square yards in extent; and was finished under the superintendence of S'a-ádullah Khán, the Prime Minister of Sháh Jahán and Fazl Khán. Native authorities state, that six thousand men worked daily for six years in building this mosque, and that it cost 10 lacs of rupees. The court-yard of the mosque is reached on three sides,—E. N. and S.—by three flights of steps, all built of red stone, well raised and very broad. The northern gate of the mosque is reached by a flight of 39 steps; in olden days these steps were occupied by stalls kept by cooks and bakers, by jugglers and attentive groups which listened to professional relaters of popular tales. The southern gate is reached by a flight of 33 steps, which is still covered with rugs on which cloth-merchants spread out their wares. On this side of the mosque, was a Madrasah, and a large bazaar which was pulled down after the mutiny. The eastern gate of the mosque, still considered the royal entrance, is reached by a flight of 35 steps, which in the evening is still converted into a bazaar for poultry and birds in general.

On the west of the terrace stands the mosque, three sides of which are formed by open arched colonnades, having in the centre a lofty tower-like gateway, through which the mosque is

entered from the different parts of the city. The mosque is a perfect specimen of the Byzantine Arabic style; it is about 261 feet long and 90 feet wide, and its roof is surmounted by three domes, ornamented with alternate stripes of black and white marble, and gilt pinnacles. The domes are flanked by two lofty minarets longitudinally striped with white marble and red-stone, about 130 feet high, and containing 130 steps. The minarets are divided by three projecting galleries and are surmounted by open twelve-sided domed pavilions. On the back of the mosque, there are four small minarets crowned like those in front. Under the domes of the mosque, is the hall with seven arched entrances facing the west; the walls of the mosque, up to the waist, are covered with marble. Beyond this is a hall about twenty feet wide, with eleven arched entrances; the centre arch is wide and lofty, and in the form of a massive gateway, on either corner of which is a slim minaret, with the usual octagonal pavilion surmounting it. Over these arched entrances there are tablets of white marble, four feet long and two and a half feet wide, inlaid with inscriptions in black marble. These inscriptions give the history of the building of the mosque, and glorify the reign and the virtues of Sháh Jahán. The slab over the centre arch contains simply the words "The Guide!"

The mosque stands on a plinth about five feet from the pavement of the terrace, and three flights of steps lead to the interior of the mosque from the east, north and south. The floor of the mosque is covered with white and black marble ornamented in imitation of the *moshalla*, or the carpet for prayers; a thin black marble border marks off each carpet, 3 feet long and 1½ feet wide; there being in all 899 such carpets in the floor of the mosque.

"The back of the mosque," says Bernier, "is cased over to the height of the rock with large hewn stones which hide inequalities and tend to give a noble appearance to the building." The mosque may be said to be built of red sand-stone, for marble is used for ornamenting the domes, the floor and the arches of the mosque.

Near the Keblah is an arched niche, adorned with frieze work. Close to this is the pulpit, which consists of four

balustrated steps, the whole of which is supposed to have been cut out of one block of marble.

The court of the mosque is enclosed, as already described, by open arched colonnades, about 20 feet wide and as many feet high. At the corners of the cloisters there are open pavilions with twelve sides, surmounted by marble domes with gilt pinnacles. The northern and the southern gateways are alike ; they are two storeyed half octagonal towers, having the base towards the ourt of the mosque while the remaining five sides face the city. These gates are about 50 feet high, 50 feet wide and about 30 feet deep. In the centre of the tower is an arched door, on either side of which there are two arched openings, one in each storey. The roof of the gateway is protected by a parapet of small narrow open arches, surmounted by a row of small ornamental marble domes, and at each corner of this parapet is a slim, tapering minaret of great beauty. The main entrance of the mosque, which is on the east of the court-yard, is a massive octagonal tower, 50 feet high, 60 feet wide and about 50 feet deep. The corners of the square are cut off to give the building the appearance of an octagon. In other respects this gateway is like the two already described. The doors of the three gateways are made of brass

The court-yard is paved with large flags of sand-stone, and is 136 yards square. There is a marble tank in the centre, about 15 yards long and 12 yards wide, with fountains, once adorned, which have ceased to work. The tank is filled from a well across the road on the north west of the mosque ; in 1803, the well became dry, and was repaired by our government on the recommendation of the then British Resident, Mr. Archibald Seton. A small portion of the western corner of the margin of the tank was marked off with a low marble railing by Muhammad Tahsín Khán, a eunuch, to secure from defilement the spot where the prophet had appeared to him in a dream in the year A. H. 1180 (1766 A. D.). The following inscription records the auspicious event :—

> The Kausar [tank] of Muhammad, the Messenger of God, in the year 1180.
>
> The Prophet was seen here by the saints and the people of God !

This stone should be a place for worship ;
The year of its building, Háthif declared with joy and congratulations :
The enclosure of the seat of the Messenger of God.
The builder of this place of prayer, the writer of these blessed [words],
Muhammad Tásín Mahali Bádsháhí, the year 1180.

The mosque was once repaired in 1817, in the reign of Akbar II., and a second time in 1851 ; one of the beams of the mosque has been seriously injured, and is in want of repair. In the year 1833, the northern minaret of the mosque was damaged by lightning, and was repaired by the Executive Engineer of Delhi, under the orders of the British Resident.

In the year 1829, Mirzá Salim, son of Akbar II., put up a sand-stone pulpit under the central entrance of the mosque, the congregation being at times too large to take part in the prayers offered by the Imám inside the mosque.

In the north-eastern corner of the court of the mosque is a plain sphere cut upon marble, giving a map of the world according to the common projection of the sphere. In the north-eastern corner of the colonnade, in a well cared for but dingy room, the relics of Muhammad are piously preserved. These relics were formerly kept in the rooms on the north-western corner of the court-yard, on the left of the mosque, and the place was enclosed with a red-stone screen, in the reign of Aurangzebe, by Almás 'Alí Khán, a nobleman and a eunuch attached to the imperial household, who also put up the following inscription on the screen :—

In front of this auspicious memorial of the last prophet,
In the reign of Sháh 'Alamgír, King of the whole world,
With pious intentions this screen of red-stone was built,
By the slave, the faithful, the clean hearted Almás Khán.
When the year and date of this building the Mir inquired of Thought and Intelligence,
Háthif replied : He has opened for himself the gates of paradise.

In the south-western corner of the court-yard, is a marble sun-dial, corresponding to the plain-sphere on the opposite side.

The following inscriptions are placed over the outer face of the eleven arched entrances of the mosque :

First Tablet, on the extreme northern arch :

"By the order of the Emperor of the world ; king of the earth and the age ; conqueror, master of the world ; conqueror of the countries of the world ; a Lord powerful as the sky ; founder of the laws relating to equity and punishment ; strengthener of the pillars of state and of wealth ; the all-knowing, great genius ; his command is like the decree of fate ; his power is like the decree of God ; [his] intellect is auspicious ; [his] appearance is agreeable ; [his] fortune is auspicious ; [his] star is exalted ; [his] grandeur is like the firmament ; [his] soldiers are as [numerous as] the stars ; [his] glory is like the sun ; his dwelling is like the sky."

Second Tablet :—"The manifestation of the Almighty's power ; the object [on which] has descended the blessings of the Infinite ; the proclaimer of the command of the Almighty ; the promulgator of the faith of Hánifa, the illuminator, the protector of kings and princes ; God's deputy on earth ; king, just and great ; Lord, great and beneficent : Abul Muzaffar, Shaháb-uddín Muhammad Sáhib Qirán-i-Sáni, Sháh Jahán, Bádsháh, Gházi, may his flag of conquest never decline. May his enemy be destroyed. The light of his eyes [which can] discern the just is lighted up with the light of his [Muhammad] command : He who has built mosques to God."

Third Tablet :—"Has [put his] faith in God and the last day [Resurrection]. The mirror of his truth—loving heart has received light from the flame of the lamp of this command : those countries are best loved by the Almighty in which there are mosques. This mosque with its foundations as firm as [a] mountain [and as] lofty as the firmament, is strengthened by this formula : verily, the foundations of a mosque are laid in piety. [The same is also] witnessed by [the command] that the high mountains were fixed on this earth to make it firm. Its domes and pinnacles are high, [and] have risen higher than the folds of the firmament ; the cornice over its sky-like niches has reached [the planet] Saturn."

Fourth tablet :—"Do you want to know what the niche or the pinnacle, and the mukdurah [of this masjid] are like ? you can only say [in reply] that they are like the milky way and the firmament. The pinnacle would have had no equal had not the sky been its pair ; the niche [itself] would have been only one [of its kind], had not there been the milky way to equal it. In its sky-light is seen the whole world ; it gives light to the lamps of the firmament ; the brilliancy of the pinnacle of its world-famous dome increases the light of the lamps of Paradise. Its marble pulpit is like the stone of the masjid of Aqsa."

Fifth Tablet.—"It is like a wick of the Qába-Qausaine-áu-adna ; the glory spreading mehrab is like the wide foreheaded morning, the bringer of good news. Verily, a command has come to him from God. Its doors, which are full of mercy, call aloud. And God invites you to the abode of peace, and this command is carried to all. Its minar, which is the orbit of the heavens, calls aloud : God will compensate the Good with goodness ; the nine folds of the blue-coloured dome of heaven have been pierced by this sound. The terrace [of the mosque] which is clean and elevated, the spirits of the celestial sphere [consider it] their pleasure-ground."

Sixth Tablet.—Contains the words "The Guide !" in Tográ, engraved on each of the two engraved marble bosses in the spandrels.

Seventh Tablet.—"Its wide and heart-opening court-yard is the place of worship of the pure-born of this dust hill [the earth] ; the breeze of this glorious court and its spirit, inspiring sweet odour, speaks within the garden of paradise. The sweetness of the pure water of its heart-winning pure tank, reminds one of the *Sal Sabil* [spring of Paradise]. On Friday, the 10th of Shawwal, in the year 1060 Hijri, corresponding to the 4th year of the third-twelfth year of the auspicious reign and the propitious hour."

Eighth Tablet.—And under a prosperous star, (this mosque) obtained the wealth of completion and the robe of firmness. Within six years, with the efficient exertion of workmen, who have knowledge of work, and who have experience in work; with the great application and devotion of the respectable men who have the ordering of work, and the hearty co-operation of the Masters of learning and wisdom; and with the great exertion of the artizans who are skilled and apt-handed; and at a cost of ten lacs of rupees, [this mosque] obtained the feature, and the form of completion. Soon after its completion, on the I'd Fitr.

The Ninth Tablet.—By the auspicious steps of the Pure King, the Shadow of God, good intentioned (because of) the knowledge of God, [it] received splendour and glory; [after he had] said the prayers appointed for the I'd, and discharged the religious exercises of Islam, as is done in the masjid of Kâbah, and (after the celebration of) I'd uzhá, it became a place for the meeting of crowds of people, and the foundations of Islam and faith were blessed with firmness and strength. The travellers who have been round the world and those who have travelled through woods and over mountains, such a fine building, so large and well built, in the mirror of their sight.

Tenth Tablet.—And in the mirror of their intellect [they] never saw, nor [was it] figured before, nor did the relaters of the events of the age, the anxious students of prose and poetry, the writers of the wonderful things done by the masters of countries and wealth; (writers) who have knowledge of the arts; men of wealth and ability [see such a building] a lofty building so grand and noble, never was brought on the tongue of their pen or on the pen of their tongue. The builder of the mansion of life, and the builder of high and low places, [may exalt] this exalted building which is like the pupil of the eye of intellect and the bestower of paradise on the things of this world.

Eleventh Tablet.—May perpetuate the sound of the Tasbíh, [and the voice of] the repeaters of the Tasbíh, may add to the glory of the speakers in the assembly of the angels and the voice of the readers of the Tahlíl increase joy, in the assembly of the recluse of Jabrúth. The heads of the pulpits of the world, may preserve with the khatbah of the form of eternal prosperity this king; the doer of justice, the cherisher of faith, [and the] virtues of his pure and auspicious form, [by whom] the door of plenty and peace has been opened for the world. For the sake of God and that of his good men: copied by Núr Allah.

To the north of the Jamá Masjid was the Imperial Dispensary, and to the south was the Imperial College; both these buildings fell into ruin long before the rebellion of 1857, and were levelled with the ground soon after that event. They were built with the mosque in 1060 A. H. (1650 A. D.)

To the north-east of the Masjid is the grave of Sarmad and at its foot that of Hare Bhare Sháh Sáhib his disciple, Sarmad was a Jew, and was converted to Muhammadanism during his residence in Delhi. He was an admirer and ally of Dara Sheko, and wrote amatory odes to the Prince; his impromptus are very popular in Delhi. Having given offence to Aurangzebe by his open advocacy of the cause of Dara Sheko, he was beheaded for heresy by the order of the Emperor, in the year 1070 A. H.; and "from that day," says a native historian, "the house of Timir declined both in glory and power."

After the execution of Dara Sheko, and the restoration

of peace, Aurangzebe sent for Sarmad and asked him if it were true that he had promised the kingdom of Delhi to Dara: "Yes," said Sarmad, "I promised him the eternal kingdom." On hearing of his death, Bernier wrote as follows: "I was for a long time disgusted with a celebrated Fakír, named Sarmad, who walked in the streets of Delhi as naked as he came to the world. He despised equally the threats and persuasions of Aurangzebe, and underwent at length the punishment of decapitation for his obstinate refusal to put on his wearing apparel." Sarmad was considered "well inspired" and a man of sanctity; to this day offerings are made at his grave by the people of Delhi.

The Begam's Bagh, or The Queen's Gardens.—The garden of Jahánára Begam stands on the Chándni Chauk, and was laid out in the year 1060 A. H., (1650 A. D.) by the favourite daughter of Sháh Jahán; it is now called the Queen's gardens. The size and the shape of the garden has not been much altered, but of its heavy enclosure walls very little now remains, and of the open octagonal pavilions, which once manned them, only four have survived the changes which this garden has experienced since 1857. Of these pavilions two may be seen on the northern wall of the garden; one overlooks the quarter of the city known as Nílká Katra, and the fourth faces the menagerie. The pavilions are about 20 feet high and stand on a platform about 15 feet from the ground. The Delhi canal runs right through the garden, and at a short distance from it stood small pleasure houses, the site of one of which is now marked by the menagerie; what now remains of this building is a four arched room, 50 feet long, 20 feet wide and 19 feet high. In a parterre of the garden the local authorities have put up a small marble tank, cut out of one piece of marble, and which was removed to its present place from one of the mahals in the Fort. This tank stands on four square marble pillars, and is 10 feet long, 9½ feet broad, 3 feet high and 2½ feet deep. According to native historians, the length of the garden was 970 yards, and its average breadth 240 yards.

The site of the Delhi Institute, and the grounds immediately around it, belonged to the Sarai of Jahánára Begam, which was levelled with the ground soon after the rebellion of 1857. The Sarai had two entrances, one on the south fa-

cing the Chándni Chauk, and the other on the north which was its garden-gate. In the court of the Sarai there were two large wells and a mosque; the walls of the court-yard contained two-storeyed rooms, two-deep, and here travellers were accommodated and itinerant merchants warehoused their merchandise. Bernier gives the following account of the Sarai: "The caravansary is a large square with arcades like our Place Royale, except that the arches are separated from each other by partitions, and have smaller chambers at their inner extremities. Above the arcades runs a gallery all round the building, into which open the same number of chambers as there are below. This place is the rendezvous of the rich Persian Usbec and other foreign merchants, who in general may be accommodated with empty chambers, in which they remain with perfect security, the gates of the caravansary being closed at night."

Fatehpuri Masjid.—In the year 1060 A. H. (1050 A. D.) Fatehpuri Begam, one of the wives of the Emperor Sháh Jahán, built a mosque at the western extremity of the Chándni Chauk, which still bears her name. It is about the only single domed mosque in Modern Delhi and is a fine building; its lofty, flanking minarets and huge single dome have an imposing effect from a distance. It was a place of great repute at one time, and as things go, it has not lost its popularity as a place of worship. Three heavy tower-like gateways, with arched entrances and embattled parapets flanked by slim masonry minars, lead into a high walled enclosure, about 80 yards square. The gates which face the north and east are not more than 30 feet high, and about 27 feet square. The gateway on the south is 27 feet square and only 10 feet deep. The entrance through this gateway is about 8 feet wide and 11 feet high. The western side of the enclosure, the inner walls of which consist of shops containing double rooms, is occupied by the mosque. The nearest object, as you enter the enclosure, is the tank in front of the mosque; it is about 16 yards long and 14 yards broad; between the tank and the mosque is a sandstone paved and walled court-yard, which is 130 feet long and 90 feet broad, and is entered by two low doorways in its northern and southern walls.

In the centre of the mosque, which stands on a plinth 3½ feet high and is an oblong of 120 feet by 40, is its main entrance, a lofty arch recessed about 16 feet into the front wall of the building, having in the smaller or its inner wall a door. Over the outer main arch the roof is crowned with an embattled parapet. On either side of this arch is a pilaster supporting a minar, which rises only a few feet above the parapet, and is surmounted by 4 pillared open sand-stone pavilions; between these flanking pilasters and the arch, there are marble and red sand-stone rectilineal bands which enclose the arch. Behind the parapet is the solitary but graceful dome, now covered with very fine masonry plaster, striped with black and white, and with a pinnacle also made of masonry. On either side of the centre arch, but about twelve feet lower, are the two wings of the mosque, each consisting of three scolloped arches, about 30 feet high and 10 feet broad; the roof over these arches is also protected by embattled parapets, and the mosque is flanked by lofty minars, about 80 feet high, supporting solid block masonry octagonal pavilions in the place of the open sand-stone pavilions which originally belonged to them. The roof of the mosque has battlemented parapets on its three façades; on the back of the mosque there are four minarets of red stone, which do not stand over 10 feet from the roof and are surmounted by ornaments resembling flower pots. Under the parapets there is a deep stone weathering, which, however, does not stretch in front of the centre entrance of the mosque. There are three steps in front of the main doorway, and three each in front of the centre arches of its two wings. The capital and base of every pillar is ornamented in the simplest style of foliage.

The dome of the mosque is bulbous in shape, and stands on a stone and masonry cylinder about four feet high; it is built of sand-stone and is covered with lime plaster, and is painted in longitudinal stripes of black and white.

The inside of the mosque has recently undergone some alterations. Behind the main entrance and under the dome, is the room which contains the centre Mehráb of the Keblah, and a marble pulpit of 4 steps stands on its left. This is the only piece of marble in the mosque. On

either side of the centre room, there used to be one row of red stone pillars dividing the wings of the mosque into two compartments. About eight years ago the roofs over the wings of the mosque were considered unsafe, and two rows of white sand-stone pillars were added to the building to strengthen them. The front pillars of the mosque, as already described, are of red sand-stone, and between these and the stone pillars of the original work, there are slim but graceful double pillars of whitish sand-stone, and between the second row of the red sand-stone pillars and the back wall of the mosque, there is another row of double white sand-stone pillars which belong to the additions recently made to the mosque. In the centre of the back wall of every side room there is a recessed arch. The centre room of the mosque is about 40 feet square, and its colonnaded side rooms are but very little larger. In the northern and southern walls of the mosque, there are doors which I am told were opened out about 40 years ago. The communication between the side rooms is through an arch about 16 feet high and 10 feet wide.

The following inscription on the face of the mosque gives the date of the repair :—

"When this mosque, an exalted [place of] grace,
Was [first] seen by the sky, it [the sky] bent its back in veneration.
Of the date of its repair Pure Thought said.
This lofty [and] clean mosque, [has been] repaired, 1289 Hijri,
By Háji Muhammed Taqí, under the superintendence of the well wishers,
Háji Qutb-ud-dín and Gholám Muhammad."

Masjid Sarhandi—In front of the Lahore gate of the city of Modern Delhi, in the year 1060 A. H. (1650 A. D.) Sarhandi Begam, one of the wives of the Emperor Shah Jahán, built this mosque. The mosque consists of three rooms which are entered through three scolloped and pointed arches. It is about 46 feet long, 17½ feet wide and 22 feet high, from the floor in front to the parapet of the middle arch; the arches are 19 feet high; the roof is protected by a false embattled parapet, and is surmounted by three domes with pinnacles of red sand-stone. The centre dome is 20 feet high, and the side ones are 15 feet high. The mosque is built of stone and mortar; the inner walls are covered with red sandstone. The terrace on which the mosque stands is faced with bricks and is paved with plaster.

Bagh Roshanara—Or the garden of Roshanárá Begam, the favorite sister of Aurangzebe, and the most determined enemy of her brother Dárá Sheko. "Less beautiful," says Bernier, "and less remarkable for understanding than her sister Jahánára;" but, adds Sir Edward Sullivan, on what authority I do not know, "was yet cheerful, graceful and ambitious and was not far behind her sister in the pursuit of doubtful pleasure." Roshanárá laid out this garden in the year 1060 A. H. (1650 A. D.,) when her father, Sháh Jahán, built Modern Delhi, and made grants of land to her courtiers and relatives. In the thirteenth year of the reign of Aurangzebe, Roshanárá died in Delhi and was buried in her garden.

The garden has recently been much altered and improved by Colonel Cracroft, Commissioner of the Delhi Division; the old ruined buildings have been removed, but a portion of the masonry canal and the eastern gateway of the garden have been carefully preserved. The garden no longer maintains any of its peculiar oriental features, but the mausoleum of Roshanárá is still in existence and in good order.

The tomb, which has a flat roof, stands on a masonry terrace about 159 feet square, and about 3 feet high; in the centre of each of its four walls there are four steps leading to the top of the terrace which is protected by a 2 feet high masonry wall. The tomb stands at a distance of 45 feet from this wall, and is 69 feet square; it is about 21 feet high, inclusive of the four feet high parapet of its roof. The tomb consists of four two-storeyed corner rooms, and a centre room which is connected with them by a verandah. The corner rooms have an entrance on each of its four sides, and in the upper storey, which is reached by steps in the wall, there are corresponding openings.

Between the corner rooms, there are four heavy stone pillars, supporting scolloped arches, which were covered at one time with fine painted plaster; the base, the capital and about a third of the lower shaft of every pillar are ornamented with engraved foliage. At a distance of about 6 feet from the first row of pillars there are four rows of similar pillars. On each of the four corners of the roof, there is a four-pillared domed pavilion of masonry, about 5 or 6 feet square, having a stone

pinnacle and a heavy stone weathering under the dome. In the middle of the building there is a square room, which contains the grave of Roshanárá—the entrance of this room is on the south and the head of the grave is to the north. The rest of the walls are formed by screens of stone lattice work, covered with plaster ; this covering is very modern and its object not quite evident.

The room containing the grave is 10 feet square ; the floor is paved with marble ; round the inner walls there is a deep stone weathering, but as there is no roof to the room the grave is exposed to the light of the day and the inclemency of the weather. On the four corners of the roof of this open chamber there are four holes which were intended to receive the four posts of the awning that used to be put over the grave. The monument over the grave is in the shape of a casket, but the top is filled with earth, much in the style of the tomb over the grave of Jahánárá. The monument is 6 feet 5 inches long and 2½ feet wide, and at its head a dwarf marble pillar is put up for lighting the grave.

Of the different water cuts and fountains that once adorned the garden there now remains a long tank between the eastern gateway of the garden and the mausoleum ; it is 277 feet long and 124 feet broad.

Zinath-ul-Masajid – So far as it lay in his power, Aurangzebe rigidly enforced the observance of celebacy on his sisters and daughters, and one of the victims of this wretched policy was Zínath-ul-nisá Begam, the daughter of Aurangzebe. In 1122 A. H. (1700 A. D.) she built this mosque, which partly bears her name, and which, next to the Jam'a Masjid, is the most important building of its kind in Sháhjahánábád or Modern Delhi. The mosque stands on the western bank of the Jamna, on an eminence, which renders it so conspicuous to a spectator on the opposite bank of the river. About 30 yards from the city wall there is a terrace which rises about 14 feet from the level of the ground, towards the river ; but, in-land, the terrace is on a level with the city road. In the river face of the terrace there are thirteen rooms, and on the extreme north and south of these rooms there are two arched entrances with 17

steps in each, leading up to the court of the masjid. This court is 195 feet long and 110 feet broad, with a tank, an oblong of 43 feet by 33, in the centre. The terrace is protected on the N. and S. by embattled parapets 2 feet high. The margin of the tank is covered with marble; is inner walls were originally faced with stone, and now repaired with masonry.

The mosque is about 150 feet long and 60 feet broad, and stands on a plinth about 4 feet from the level of the courtyard. It has seven scolloped arched entrances in which are set seven arched doorways facing the east; over each doorway, excepting the one in the centre, there is a slab of white marble, probably intended for inscriptions. Three huge bulbous domes, longitudinally striped with bands of black and white marble, surmount the roof of the mosque; they stand on large white marble cylinders and are topped with copper gilt pinnacles. The centre dome is 37 feet high, allowing 7 feet to the pinnacle, 18 feet to the bulbous body, and 12 feet to the marble neck; the side domes are 30 feet from the roof, the neck being about 8 feet high, the body about 16 feet, and the pinnacle about another 6 feet. The domes are hollow inside. The front of the mosque is flanked by two red sand-stone minarets, each about a hundred feet high, supporting an octagonal pavilion of white marble. On the back of the mosque, there are four open pavilions with marble domes.

The inside of the mosque has been much altered by partitions which converted it into a private residence. The rooms are two deep; the front rooms with flat roofs are narrow, the back rooms have arched roofs; the latter support the domes above and are of great width. In the tower-like centre entrance, which is about 46 feet high and 35 feet wide, there is an arch about 30 feet high and about 20 feet broad, and recessed in it, there is another arch 19 feet high and 12 feet wide; in the second arch is the door which leads into the centre compartment of the mosque. On either side of the chief entrance is a tall slim minaret about 50 feet high, supporting an octagonal pavilion with a gilt pinnacle The roof of the mosque between the two minars, which is about 46 feet high, is crowned with an embattled parapet. Between these minars and the big arch there are rectilineal bands of marble and red-stone which enclose the latter.

The six side arches are open and are about 24 feet high and about 10 feet broad; these arches are also scolloped and are supported by plain red-stone pillars. The roof above the side arches is also embattled, and is about as high as the apex of the outer centre arch, that is, about 33 feet from the floor of the courtyard. Each of the arches is about 21 feet high and 13 feet wide, the supporting pillars being about three feet wide.

The marble pulpit must have been removed after the rebellion of 1857 and the occupation of the mosque as an artillery barrack.

During her life-time, Zinath-ul-nisá Begam built her tomb within the enclosure of the mosque, and she was buried in it in the year 1122 A. H. (1700 A. D.) This tomb was destroyed immediately after the mutiny of 1857, the marble monument was removed and the grave levelled with the ground. The tomb stood on the north of the mosque; it was built of sand-stone, the room within was paved with marble and the grave was enclosed by a dwarf marble railing; at the head of the grave was engraved the following inscription, which follows a verse from the Qurán, on a slab of marble:

For a friend in my grave, God's forgiveness is alone sufficient;

The canopy of my grave, is the shadow of the cloud of God's mercy,

In the hope of a righteous end, Fáthmah Zinath-ul-nisá Begam' daughter of Bádsháh Mohí-uddín Máhammad Alamgír Ghazí,

May God illuminate his works: 1122 Hijri!

The Mausoleum and Madrasah of Ghazi-uddin Khan.—Ghází-uddín Khán, the son of Nizám-ul Mulk, the founder of the "Nizam dynasty" of Haidrabad, was one of the leading Amirs of the court of Aurangzeb and of his son and successor, Shah 'Alam Bahádur Sháh. He built this mausoleum during his life-time, and when his death occurred at Ahmedabad in 1122 A. H. (1710 A. D.), his body was brought to Delhi and interred here. The tomb was outside the walls of

Modern Delhi, but in 1803, when the British Government repaired the walls of that city, the mausoleum and madrasah of Ghází-uddín Khán were included in it.

The court of the tomb and its associated college is entered through a lofty and handsome arched gateway in its eastern wall; on either side of this gateway there is a small door which turns into the main entrance. There are arched rooms in the outer wall of the gateway, which are supposed to have been used as kitchens by the students of the college. The quadrangle of the tomb is about 300 feet square, and is thus formed: on the west is a mosque, on either side of which is a small piece of ground, an oblong of 60 feet by 40 feet; the ground, on its north, is enclosed by walls of sand-stone screen and here is the tomb of Ghází-uddín Khán; that on its south is still unoccupied. On the north there are, first, a row of three arched double-rooms of red sandstone, then follows a row of five arched double-rooms standing a little lower than the first room, and next to these there is a row of four two-storeyed double-rooms of masonry, which adjoins a large gateway now closed; to the left of the gateway the rooms are like those already described. The southern wall is in every respect similar to that on the north. On the north-eastern corner of the eastern wall there are ten masonry arched double-storeyed rooms, adjoining which is the main entrance. On the south of this gateway the buildings are like those on its north. Within this quadangle there were some very fine ornamental trees, but of these very few now remain. The Madrasah was closed in 1793 for want of funds, and, after the rebellion of 1857, the rooms of the quadrangle have been occupied by the local Police.

The tomb of Ghází-uddín Khán is in a small enclosure on the south of the mosque; the walls are of "brown and fawn-coloured stone lattice," about ten feet high; the northern wall is formed by a side of the mosque and the southern by a row of arched rooms, corresponding to those on the opposite side of the quadrangle. In the centre of this small court there is a smaller court, 10 feet by 16 feet, formed by marble walls 9 feet high. The sand-stone walls of the outer enclosure have two doors and two stone slab panels, ornamented with embos-

sed flowers in bold relief, which are carved to look like closed doors; on the top of these walls there are ornamental pierced balustrades about 2 feet high. Inclusive of the doors in each of the two walls there are ten compartments of pierced stone work; each of these compartments is flanked by small but very graceful minarets which rise about 3½ feet above the balustrades. The floor of the outer and the inner enclosures are of marble. The inner enclosure of the tomb stands on a plinth, about 2½ feet high, the sides of which are beautifully ornamented, and the walls are about 6 feet from the plinth; the balustrades are of pierced marble work about 1 foot high; the main entrance is on the south with flanking small minarets, which also may be seen on the four corners. The doors of the outer screens and those of the inner enclosure rise about 18 inches above the level of the walls. One of the false doors in the western screen has been removed by violence.

There are three graves in the inner enclosure, of which the centre grave is that of Ghází-uddín Khán.

To the west of the tomb, and on the back of the mosque, but a few yards removed from it, there are two graves in a sexagonal shallow well; this place was once covered by a pavilion of which the pillars and dome have disappeared, but traces of the former are still visible. The monuments over the graves are of marble, and ornamented with engravings of verses from the Qurán. These monuments stand on a plinth about 2½ feet high, and are most elaborately ornamented with inlaid patterns in various coloured stones. The floor of the well is paved with black and white marble and red sandstone.

The mosque stands about 2½ feet above its terrace, and is built of red sand-stone, with spandrels of marble and bands and narrow ornamental panels of the same material with seven arched entrances. The mosque has in the centre arch an arched door as the centre entrance of the mosque. The centre arch, which is deeply recessed on the face of the mosque, is about 40 feet high, flanked by two minarets which rise about 12 feet above the gateway and support two octagonal pavilions. The side arches are about half as high as the centre arch and the roof of the mosque, which is flanked by

minarets like those on the sides of the centre arch, is protected by embattled parapets ; the top of the gateway is ornamented by a similar parapet. On the front of the mosque the terrace is about 6 feet high and is an oblong of 88 feet by 44 feet. A flight of about eight steps leads to the top of the terrace. There are three rooms in the mosque, supporting its three domes. The floor of the mosque, under the centre dome, is paved with oblong slabs of freestone and with bands of black marble ; the court in front of the mosque is paved with sandstone. The pavilions on the minarets in front have corresponding pavilions on the back wall of the mosque. The centre dome stands over the centre room of the mosque, and the side domes stand over its side rooms. The domes are built of masonry and stand on low necks of the same material.

The tank in front of the mosque, which is very wide and deep, is now dry.

Sonehri Masjid, or the Golden Mosque of Roshan-uddoulah.—" Some buildings," remarks General Cunningham, in a *Memorandum of Instructions* furnished by him to the Government of India, " may be remarkable only for their historical interest, but they are worth preserving on that account alone, although they may be otherwise insignificant. Such, for instance, is the small mosque of Roshan-udoulah in the Chándni Chauk at Delhi, where Nádir Sháh sat for several hours while plunder and massacre was going on all around him."

This mosque is an oblong of 48 feet by 19 ; it stands on a masonry platform about 11 feet from the level of the road which it overlooks ; the top of its unpretending gateway is on a level with the court of the mosque, while the entrance itself is barely 7 feet high. Eight narrow steps lead up to the court of the mosque which is paved with sand-stone, and is about 50 feet long and 22 feet wide. The mosque is built throughout of masonry and stone, but the pilasters which support the minarets are of red sand-stone. There are three arched entrances to the mosque leading into its three rooms ; the centre arch is ten feet high and those on its sides are about a foot smaller. The centre arch is flanked by red-stone minarets, sur-

mounted by block octagonal masonry pavilions with gilt domes and pinnacles, and are about 20 feet high. The off-flanking minarets of the mosque are about 35 feet high, and are surmounted by four-pillared open masonry pavilions with gilt domes and pinnacles. On the back of the mosque there are four corresponding minarets. The three rooms of the mosque are covered by three large gilt domes, the centre dome being larger than those on its sides. The middle dome is about 18 feet and the side domes are about 15 feet from the roof of the mosque, and about 45 and 42 feet respectively from the court of the mosque.*

The following account of the massacre of Delhi is summarised from the history of Nádir Sháh by Abdul Karím :—

"The army of the Moghal king was so curiously attired, and the men were of such uncouth appearance that they drew the derision of the people of Delhi. On the third night after the occupation of Delhi by Nádir Sháh, a report was spread in the city that the Emperor Muhammad Sháh had assassinated Nádir Sháh in the citadel. The Qazlbash, or the soldiers of Nádir Sháh, were attacked by the citizens of Delhi, and it is said that 3000 of these soldiers were killed. At midnight a report of what had occurred was sent to Nádir Sháh. Nádir Sháh disbelieved the report till it was impossible to do so, when he sent an orderly to enquire into the matter. Those who heard the news had no news to give. The orderlies were murdered, and Nádir Sháh ordered 2000 Jazárchis to occupy the gates of the fort, and fire into the crowd. For a time the disturbance in the city abated; but by daylight it rose again. Nádir Sháh then rode out of the fort to the mosque of Roshan-uddoulah. Fired at the sight he saw there, he ordered his Jazárchis and three thousand men besides, at 7 in the morning, to draw their swords and to spare no man dressed as a Hind; any man so attired was to have the garment of life stript from his body; and murder and plunder, killing and robbing, and all that is necessary to complete hard-heartedness and violence should be exceeded and no man should forbear."

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* On the face of the mosque is the following inscription :—

In the reign of the King of the Seven climes,
Dignified like Solomon, Muhammad Sháh, Lord.
For Sháh Bhik, the Polar Star of the Age,
This Masjid [was erected, and] it is unrivalled in the world for its splendour.
O God ! it is not [that the masjid is dedicated to,] but for his good acts,
It is named after, Roshan-uddoulah, Zafar Khán,
Its date, calculated from the Hijah [of Muhammad]
Is one thousand, one hundred thirty and four.

From 7 in the morning to 4 in the evening Delhi was given up to massacre: "the bad people of the city abandoned it and the good suffered." The city kotwal reported the death of thousands and the scene of the massacre extended to the following localities: from the Lahore Gate of the city to the old 'Idgah, near Jahánumá; to the north as far as the Parí Mosque, and to the south, beyond the Delhi Gate of the city; "round the Jama Masjid" and "towards Pahar ganj, the root ot the troubles," and those who were made prisoners here were taken to the bank of the Jumna and beheaded. "The quarters first attacked were those occupied by jewellers, Sharafs, bankers and merchants."* Some of the noblemen of Delhi, who were well affected to the foreigners and Nádir Sháh, were defended by the Qazlbash, and "small neighbourhoods were spared in this manner." Muhammad Sháh, alarmed at the reports which had reached him, sent a messenger to Nádir Sháh and begged for forgiveness; the tyrant relented and spared the people of Delhi "for the sake of Shah Muhammad." Another account states, that Mirzá Mehdí, the physician of Nádir Sháh, was seated on the steps ot the mosque, when Asif Jah, Prime Minister of Sháh Muhammad, brought him a long-winded petition and begged for mercy. The Mirzá remarked to Asif Jáh, that before the petition was finished the whole of Delhi would be depopulated, and requested that the Vazir should revise it. Asif Jáh, alarmed and distracted, left the matter in the hands of Mirzá Mehdi who, advancing towards Nádir Sháh, respectfully repeated the following verse:

> The Prime Minister of Hindustan, bare-headed and with eyes full of tears,
> Is anxious to know whether your victory-seeking soldiers are to wash their hands in blood or water?

"I have forgiven the citizens of Delhi, said Nadir, "for the sake of the Vazir's grey beard." "And such," says the historian, "was the state of discipline in the army, that when the order for peace was given, even the murderer drew back his sword from the throat of his would-be victim."

* The Khuní Darwázah or the Bloody Gate, is the popular name of the western extremity of the Dariba, a well-known street, which is still occupied by jewellers, bankers and merchants.

Jantar Mantar.—" On our way back to the camp," writes Thorn, " we stopped to view the celebrated observatory called the Genter Muntur, erected in the third year of the reign of Muhammad Shah, in 1724, by the famous astronomer, Jeysing, or Jayasinah, Rajah of Ambhere, and founder of the principality of Jeypore. This monument of oriental munificence and science, is situated without the walls of the city, near two miles from the Jumma musjid ; but the work was never completed, on account of the death of the projector, and the subsequent confusions of the empire. The observatory was, however, sufficiently advanced to mark the astronomical skill and accuracy of the prince by whom it was designed, though it has suffered severely from the ravages of the Jauts, who, not content with carrying off all the valuable materials which were portable, committed many wanton excesses upon the finest parts of the edifice. The great equatorial dial is still nearly perfect, but the gnomon and the periphery of the circle on which the degrees are marked have been injured in several parts. The length of this gnomon is one hundred and eighteen feet seven inches ; the base one hundred and four feet one inch ; and the perpendicular fifty-six feet nine inches. A flight of stone steps leads up to the top of the gnomon, edges of which as well as the arches, were of white marble.

"Besides this stupendous instrument which, on account of its magnitude and accuracy, was denominated by Jeysing himself the Semrat Genter, or " the prince of dials," there are two others of a similar construction and materials, but on a smaller scale. The three gnomons are connected by a wall, on which is described a graduated semicircle for measuring the altitudes of objects lying due east or west from hence.

" In a southerly direction from the great equatorial dial are two buildings exactly alike, and adapted for the same purpose, which was that of observing the altitude and azimuths of the stars. It is evident that these duplicate structures were designed to prevent errors by obtaining different observations at the same time, and comparing the results. These last buildings, which are of a circular form and open at the top have, each of them, a pillar of the same height in the centre, from whence proceed horizontally, at about three feet from the bottom, thirty radii of stone to the

circumference. The intermediate spaces are equal to the radii, so that each of these, with the space between, forms together a complete sector of six degrees. Within the side of the wall are recesses, on the edges of which are marked the tangents of the degrees of the sun's altitude, as exhibited by the shadow of the perpendicular still in the centre, and numbered from one degree to forty-five; but when the sun exceeds that height, the degrees are marked on the radii, numbered from the pillar in such a manner as to note exactly the complement of the altitude. These degrees are even sub-divided into minutes; but the opposite spaces in the wall, which are divided into six equal parts or degrees, have no sub-divisions. By observing on which of these the shadow of the pillar falls, the sun's azimuth may be ascertained at once; and in the same manner may the lunar altitudes and azimuths be determined, as well as those of any star that comes upon the meridian. Between these buildings and the great equatorial dial is a concave of stone-work, representing the celestial hemisphere, twenty-seven feet five inches in diameter. It is divided by seven lines of masonry at the distance of fifteen degrees from each other, and intended as delineations of so many meridians."

Fakhr-ul-Masajid, or The Pride of Mosques—Was built in the year 1141 A. H. (1728 A. D.), by Fakhr-ul-nisá Begam, the wife of Nawáb Shujá-'ath Khán, an Amír of the Court of Aurangzeb. It stands near the Kashmir Gate, on a platform about 40 feet by 24 feet, and about 8 feet from the ground. In the eastern face of the platform there are small shops facing the road. The top of the platform, or terrace, is paved with sand-stone and is protected by a dwarf stone parapet. The court of the mosque is enclosed on three sides, on the west by the mosque, and on the north and the south by two arcades about 8 feet high, 8 feet wide and 23 feet long. The arcades consist of three compartments, the middle compartment is entered through three arched doors, and is double the size of the adjoining compartments.

The mosque itself stands on a two feet high sand-stone plinth. It consists of three rooms, each having a scolloped arched entrance. The face of the mosque is

covered with marble, and ornamented with bands of red-stone which enclose the arches. The roof of the mosque is protected in front by an embattled marble parapet; the parapet over the centre arch is about four feet higher than those on the side arches. The mosque is flanked by lofty minarets striped longitudinally with marble and red-stone, and surmounted by small octagonal open pavilions, with gilt domes and pinnacles. On either side of the centre arch there is a minaret which rises about 8 feet above the roof of the mosque; it is also striped with marble and red-stone, and is surmounted by four-pillared open pavilions. The pinnacles of the minarets are also of copper-gilt. Behind these minarets the roof of the mosque is surmounted by three graceful domes, one over each of the rooms of the mosque; they are striped like the minarets, but with white and black marble, and are topped with gilt pinnacles.

The floor of the mosque is paved with white marble, divided into squares with bands of red-stone. From the floor to the height of about 4½ feet, the inner walls are faced with marble, the rest of the walls are of sand-stone. In the back-wall of the mosque are the mehrábs (recessed arches) of the Qiblah; they are about 10 feet high. On the left of the centre recessed arch is the marble pulpit. The inside of the domes are of masonry. In the left side-wall of the mosque is a door, and on the right a small room for the use of the *mullá* (priest) in charge of the mosque. The left wall of the mosque, and the colonnade on the same side suffered during the siege of Delhi in 1857, and a cannon ball dismantled the pavilion of the minaret on its north-eastern corner.

The mosque is entered from the north-eastern corner of the platform; some of the steps leading up to the court of the mosque are covered by the roof of the doorway.

On the door of the mosque is the following inscription on marble: "Fakhr-ul-Masajid;" and over the centre arch, the following:

The Khán, the Cherisher of Faith, Shujá-'alí Khán, has obtained a place in Paradise.
By the will of God and the grace of Murtazá,
Chief of the ladies and slave of Fátimah, Fakhr Jahán [Pride of the world],
Built this mosque, to his memory by the blessing of Mustafá.

The Garden, and the Gates of Mahaldar Khan.—About four miles to the north-west of Modern Delhi are the gates and garden of Názir Mahaldár Khán, an officer of some importance in the reign of Muhammad Sháh; both the garden and the gates stand on the road to Karnal, and were built in the year 1141 A. H. (1728 A. D.) The garden occupies several acres of land, and its main entrance is on the Karnal road. The gate of the garden has two arched doorways about 9 feet wide, 14 feet high and 35 feet deep, being of the depth of the two rooms on either side of the passage. Red-stone is used only in ornamenting the arches of the gateway and of a projecting bracket on either side of them. About 180 feet from the entrance of the garden there is a 40 feet square building, a sort of lodge, standing on a terrace 4 feet high and 60 feet square. It has a room in each of its four corners, and the intervening spaces are occupied by four corridors of three arches each; in the centre of the enclosing corridors there is a square room. The best part of the lodge is built of red sand-stone; there are steps on each of the four sides of its terrace. Under the parapet of its roof there is a deep stone ledge which goes round the building. Within a few feet of the lodge there is a deep tank of red sand-stone, 90 feet square, which is fed by the Delhi Canal.

This garden formed the eastern boundary of the Bazaar of Mahaldár Khán, and the ruins of its shops may still be seen. Between the Garden and the Bazaar there was an extensive enclosure, and in its northern and southern walls were the gates popularly known as Tirpauliyah, or Three Gates. The northern gate is still on the Karnal road, and gives one the idea of the approach to an ancient city; but the corresponding gateway, which is avoided by the new road, stands a good way on the left of it. The first gateway is an oblong building about 50 feet by 38, and consists of three arches; the centre arch is 14 feet 7 inches and the side arches are 14 feet and 3 inches wide, but they are of equal height, being about 17 feet from the ground. From the top of the arch to the top of the roof the wall is 10 feet high; the arches are two deep. The roof is protected by a plain parapet wall about 2 feet high; there are steps in the side walls which lead to the top of the gateway.

About 250 yards from the first gate is the second gate of the Bazaar. There is an inscription over the centre arches

of the gates; the letters are of black marble inlaid in a slab of white marble.* The second gateway resembles the first, with this difference, however, that the rooms in the two gateways do not communicate with one another in the same order, and that there are two small flanking minarets in the second gateway which we miss in the first.

The second Sonehri Masjid of Roshan-uddaulah.—This Masjid was built in Faiz Bazaar by Roshan-uddaulah, in the year 1157 A. H. (1745 A. D.), fully 24 years after the building of his first mosque in Chándní Chauk. It stands on a terrace about 9 feet high—from the level of the Faiz Bazaar road—32 feet broad and 57 feet long. The gate of the mosque is in the eastern wall of the terrace; it is 11 feet high, 16 feet wide and about 6 feet deep; two flights of steps, under the cover of the gateway, lead to the top of the terrace. On the north and the south of the terrace there are rooms and *dáláns*, or halls, for the use of students; on the west of the terrace is the mosque, containing three rooms; on either side of it is a small room about 6 feet square for the use of the attendants of the mosque. The Masjid is entered through three arched doorways. From the floor of the terrace to the embattled parapet over the side arches the mosque is about 24 feet high, and from the floor to the parapet over the centre arch it is 26 feet high. The centre door is 9 feet wide and the side doors about 8 feet wide; the doors are raised from the floor by two steps. The domes of this mosque were covered with coppergilt casings, which were used for the repair of the domes of the mosque in Chándní Chauk. The stone and mortar of the

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* [ENGLISH TRANSLATION OF THE INSCRIPTION.]

"By the blessing of God and the Prophet of the age,

[This was] built by Názir Mahaldár Khán; such a [glorious] Bazaar with three gates,

That it may be a memorial of him for ages.

From Háthif came a voice to this [effect].

May this building stand for ever."

despoiled domes have almost disappeared. There is an inscription on the eastern wall of the mosque.*

Qudsiah Bagh.—This garden, which at one time contained an extensive palace, was laid out on the banks of the Jumna at a short distance from the Kashmir Gate, in the year 1162 A. H. (1748 A. D.) by Qudsí Begam, the wife of Muhammad Sháh and the mother of Ahmad Sháh, in succession, Emperors of Delhi. It is not at all unlikely, as related by tradition, that Qudsí Begam took advantage of a garden on the river to improve it and adorn it with palatial buildings and with splendid water works, the foundations of which may yet be seen. Nothing now remains of the palace, if I am to judge from the two sketches of the place that I have seen; the most prominent objects that now belong to Qudsiah Bágh are a gateway, two *bárádarís*, three interrupted lines of heavy walls, and a group of deserted shops.

The gateway, which is on the west of the garden, is a stone and masonry structure, lofty but heavy and gloomy. It is 39 feet high, 74 feet long and 55 feet wide. To interrupt a view of the palace through the gateway, a half-wall is erected between its two arches.

There were two minarets on two flanking pilasters of the gateway, crowned with clumsy ornaments resembling flower-pots. On either side of the gateway there is a row of masonry cells which must have once completely enclosed the garden, but which is now interrupted in several places. On the north-

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* [English translation of the inscription.]

"Thanks be to God! by the grace of the glory of the Sayyad, saved by his knowledge of God:
Sháh Bhik, the perfect teacher, the strengthener of the holiness of God.
In the reign of a King like Alexander, [in glory] and in dignity like Jamshid,
The spreader of justice, Muhammad Sháh Ghází, Bádsháh,
Roshan-uddaulah Zafar Khán, the Lord of beneficence and bounty,
Built this golden Mosque, heavenlike [in loftiness].
Such a Masjid, [and such is] the dignity of its Court, that the sky made the rays of the light of the sun sweep it in the mornings;
Its clear tank, is a sample of the spring of Paradise;
Whoever has washed himself with its water has cleansed his sins.
The year and date of its [building] Risálí got from the voice of the Unseen
[It is a] Masjid like the Mosque of Paradise, where the light of God descends."

western corner of this wall there are vats whence the fountains of the garden were supplied with water. On the south-western extremity of this wall there is a block of buildings, consisting of rooms, about a hundred feet wide and five hundred feet long, with a court in the centre. It is said, that there was a similar block of buildings on the right of the gateway, and that the ground between them was enclosed by another wall of cells, which was entered by an outer gateway which has since disappeared. The eastern side of the Bágh is an open space, but well covered with the ruins of houses and water-works, and considering its position, it must have been the most important part of the garden and is probably the site of the palace. On the north and the south of the garden there are two lines of walls containing cells, like those on either side of the gateway, having a small unpretending *baradari* in the centre. These rooms are built on five feet high terraces, and are about 20 feet wide and 30 feet long, with three arched doors in front. The garden was entered by three gateways; we have already described the main entrance on the west, there were two other entrances through the northern wall, one under the *baradari*, and the other in the western corner of the wall; the latter now is a shapeless gap.

The Mosque at the south-eastern corner of the Bagh—so much battered by gun shots during the seige of Delhi in 1857—though attached to the palace, was not included in it.

Sonehri Masjid, near Lal Qil'ah.—Jáved Khán, a courtier of some renown during the decline of the Delhi Empire, who played a remarkable part in the reign of Ahmad Shah and met with a tragical death, he was the confidential adviser of Nawáb Qudsí Begam, the mother of Ahmad Shah, and the wife of Muhammad Sháh. In the year 1165 A. H., (1751 A. D) he built this mosque within a hundred yards of the Delhi Gate of Lál Qil'ah; the domes and the pinnacles were covered with copper-gilt plate.

It is one of three mosques which are known by the name of Sonehri Masjid; the subject of the present

notice being one and the other two being the Golden Mosques of Roshan-uddaulah in Chandni Chauk and Faiz Bazaar.

The mosque of Jáved Khán is a small but remarkably elegant building ; in few of the structures of the later Moghal period is there such a wonderful combination of smallness of size with perfect symmetry of form. Three graceful domes, once covered with gilt casing and now with well finished free stone, flanked with slim and tapering minarets of the same material lend beauty to this, otherwise, unpretending building.

The mosque stands on the corner of a cross road ; the road to the south is almost on a level with the court of the mosque, but the road on the east was low enough to have justified the architect in building a handsome entrance, the embattled parapets of which do not rise 4 feet above the level of the court of the mosque. This gate, a small half-hexagonal tower, is built of sand-stone ; it has three entrances—the arched entrance in the centre is about 15 feet by 10, and has a door on either side of it. On the top of the gateway is a five feet high balustrade, the lower half of which consists of a low embattled parapet, above which is a dwarf open arcade of the same height. Under the centre arch of the gateway, which is tastefully ornanamented with scrolls and foliage, and consists of two recessed arches, there are ten stone steps which lead up to the court of the mosque. The side entrances lead to this flight of steps and to a room on either side of the staircase. The gateway was flanked by two minarets which were destroyed not very long ago.

The court-yard is about 48 feet square and is paved with sand-stone, but, owing to neglect, grass is permitted to grow between the flags. The mosque stands on a plinth 18 inches high, is built throughout of red-stone and the ordinary sand-stone of the country, and consists of three rooms. There are three arched entrances to the mosque ; the centre arch is scolloped like its side arches, but it is more elaborately ornamented with scrolls and foliage than the others. There is a deep stone ledge over the three arches. Behind each of the three arches, there is a room and over each of these rooms there is a bulbous dome, built on a cylinder about 3 feet high. Originally, the domes were covered with copper-

gilt plate, but the mosque was repaired by Bahádur Sháh in 1852, when he covered the ruined domes with sand-stone, striped longitudinally with red-stone and crowned with gilt pinnacles. The centre dome is about 45 feet high but the side domes are about 5 feet lower.

The centre arch, which is crowned with an embattled parapet, is flanked by two minarets which rise about 8 feet above the roof, and are topped with ornamental bosses with gilt pinnacles. About 6 feet lower than the parapet of the centre arch are the embattled parapets over the side arches, and on their northern and southern extremities there are two slim and very tastefully constructed minarets, about 60 feet high, and each supporting an octagonal open pavilion with a gilt dome. On the back of the mosque, to the right and the left of the centre dome, there are two dwarf minarets corresponding to those flanking the parapet over the centre arch. The back of the mosque is also flanked by two pilasters which above the roof of the mosque support octagonal open pavilions, the domes of which have either disappeared or were never built.

The floor of the mosque is paved with sand-stone; and each of its three rooms has a niche in its back wall, 8 feet from the floor. Some of the gilt and paint of the original decorations may yet be seen in the walls. The side rooms are separated from the centre room by two arches; the inner face of the arches must have been elaborately painted; and some traces of these paintings are still visible. The pulpit has been removed from the centre room, and its site is still marked by lines on the floor. Over the outer faces of the arches there are five slabs of marble, which bear the following inscription, inlaid in black letters:

"Thanks be to God! in the reign of Ahmad Sháh Ghází Bádsháh, Protector of the People, the doer of justice, Protector of the Kings of the world.

This Mosque was built by the Náwab of pure dignity [Qudsí]. May this all-blessed place, [fit for] Angels [to] worship, last for ever.

The exertions of the Nawáb Bahádur [the Lord] of mercy and benevolence,

Built this eternal [Jáved] place of the exalted Master [of] Power.

Its well, tank and court are clean and are better than [the water] of Zamzam.

Whoever has washed with its water has been cleansed of his sins.

The year of its foundation, Khurram obtained from the voice of the unseen.

[It is the] Mosque of Bethlehem; it is the resting place of the light of God."

A few feet to the west of the mosque there is a small enclosure containing a marble tomb, the history of which I have not been able to ascertain.

The Tomb of Safdar Jang.—Abúl Mansúr Khán, better known by his title of Safdar Jang, was the nephew and successor of Sá-'adat 'Alí Khán, Viceroy of Oudh. He was a Persian by birth and visited India at the invitation of his uncle, the Viceroy, whose daughter he married. When order was restored in Hindustan after the invasion by Nádir Sháh, Mansúr Khán became a favourite at the Court of Delhi, and when Nizám-ul-Mulk declined the Wazír-ship of the Emperor Ahmad Sháh, Mansúr Khán was raised to that dignity with the title of Safdar Jang. He was a man of ordinary administrative capacity, but by the incapables who then advised the king, he was regarded as a man of genius. Perhaps less crafty, certainly less adventurous, than his rival, Ghází-uddín Khán, the son of Nizám-ul-Mulk, he was compelled to abandon the post of honour in Delhi and lived in a hot-bed of intrigue till his death occurred in 1167 A. H. (1753 A. D.) He was buried in the mausoleum which stands on the road to the Qutb Minár, about five miles from Sháhjahánábád, or Modern Delhi. This mausoleum is in some respects not unlike that of Humáyún and is believed to have been intended as a duplicate of that superb building. It stands in the centre of an extensive garden, on a lofty terrace containing arched cells. The roof of the tomb is surmounted by a marble dome, and is supported by open marble pavilions on the four corners; but the tomb of Safdar Jang is poor and unimpressive compared with that of Humáyún, and may be considered, as Keene justly remarks, "the last grand effort of Mogul architecture."

The garden in which the tomb stands is about 300 yards square; the gate of the mausoleum is on the east of the garden and contains rooms for the accommodation of the attendants of the tomb. In the centre of the walls, on the other three sides of the enclosure walls, there are

dalans, which are used as rest-houses by visitors. On each of the four corners of the garden there is an octagonal tower, the sides of which, with the exception of the entrance, are covered with perforated red-stone screens. Behind the gateway, and a little to its north, there is a masjid with three domes and three arched entrances, built throughout of red-stone.

The terrace on which the tomb stands is 10 feet high from the level of the garden, and 110 feet square. In the centre of the terrace is a vault under which is the grave of Safdar Jang. The building over the grave is 60 feet square and about 90 feet high ; in its centre there is a room 20 feet square containing a beautiful marble monument, highly polished and massively carved. Round the centre room there are eight apartments, four of which are square and four octagonal. The pavement and the walls of the room, up to the waist, are of marble. The roof of the centre room is about 40 feet high and the ceiling is formed by a flattish dome. The apartments above correspond with those below.

In the centre of the roof stands a bulbous marble dome, with marble minarets at each angle. The four faces of the tomb are alike both in construction and ornamentation; the latter consists of inlaid bands of marble. A stone aqueduct, deprived both of its fountains and water, may yet be seen in front of the tomb.

The mausoleum of Safdar Jang was built by his son, Shujá-uddaulah, Viceroy of Oudh, under the superintendence of one Sídí Balál Muhammad Khán, and at a cost of 3 lacs of rupees.

The following inscription was placed on the eastern face of the tomb :—

> " When the hero [Safdar] of the plain of valour
> Accepted the order to leave this transitory house,
> The following date was given of it [his departure]:
> May you be a resident of the high Heaven !"

Lal Banglah.—The origin of this building is not known, but, about 90 years ago, the Emperor Sháh 'Alam buried here his mother and daughter and converted the place into a burial ground for his family. Lál Banglah stands at a short dis-

tance both from Purána Qil'ah and the village of Nizám-uddín; it contains two domed mausoleums in an extensive walled enclosure. The length of the enclosure is 177 feet and its breadth 160 feet; the wall is about 9 feet high, but nine-tenths of it are in ruins. The gate of the Banglah is on the north-eastern corner of its court and is protected by an outer work in the form of a barbican.

Neither of the two tombs is in the centre of the court; the tomb nearest the gate is that of Lál Kanwar, mother of Sháh 'Alam, and hence the mausoleum is supposed to have taken the name of Lál Banglah. It stands on a red-stone paved terrace about 52½ feet square and about a foot high; the building itself is about 30 feet square, having on each of its four corners a room about 6 feet square. Between these rooms there are *dalans*, or halls, each consisting of three arches supported by two stone pillars and two stone pilasters. The room in the centre of the building is 12 feet square. There are three graves in this room and one in the western hall. The roof of the tomb is about 20 feet high and is surmounted by a red-stone dome in the later Moghal style. The dome is about 25 feet high, inclusive of the pinnacle.

About 50 feet from this tomb is the second tomb of Lál Banglah. It is 51 feet square and is built on the same plan as the first tomb, having corner square rooms, oblong halls, or *dalans*, and a square centre room. The dome on the roof is also built of red sand-stone. This is the tomb of Begam Ján, a daughter of Sháh 'Alam. The monument on the grave was removed not long ago.

In an adjoining enclosure there are three tombs belonging to the family of Akbar II.

The Tomb of Mirza Najaf Khan.—No human effort could have saved the Empire of Delhi after the invasion of Nádir Sháh, but with the death of Najaf Khán vanished the hopes of even a protracted existence. The last great name in the history of the Moghal Empire is, undoubtedly, that of Najaf Khán, for although, when his death occurred, the Emperor Sháh 'Alam was still on the throne of Delhi, and two of his descendants lived to wear the purple, the destruction of the Empire was complete when the successors of Najaf

Khán truckled to traitors and bargained with rebels. "The division of his offices and his estates," says Keene, "became the subject of speedy contests, which finally overthrew the last fragments of Moghul dominion or independence." Najaf Khán was a man of great ability; he was a Persian by birth, a lineal descendant of Muhammad and a member of the illustrious Safwí dynasty. "At his death," says the historian of "The Moghul Empire," "he wielded all the power of the empire, which his energies and virtues had restored. He was Deputy Vazir of the absentee Viceroy of Oudh, and Commander-in-Chief of the army. He held direct civil administration, with receipt of the surplus revenues agreeably to eastern usage, of the Province of Agra and the Jat territories, together with the district of Ulwur to the south-west, and those portions of the upper Dooab which he had not alienated in *Jaeedad.*"*

According to Mr. Keene, who quotes no less an authority than Warren Hastings, the Governor General of India at the time, Najaf Khán died on the 26th of April 1782, but the date on his tomb corresponds to the middle of 1781.

In a ruined but large enclosure in 'Alí Ganj, near Modern Delhi, is the tomb of Najaf Khán. It is 90 feet square, stands on a 2 feet high plinth and is built of red sandstone. The roof of the building is 10 feet high, and supports an octagonal tower, 12 feet in diameter, on each of its four corners. The roof of the tomb is flat, but the rooms have vaulted ceilings. On the right of the grave of Najaf Khán is that of his daughter Fatimah. The monuments over both the graves are of marble; and are 2 feet high, 9 feet long and 8 feet broad. The marble head-stones contain inscriptions:—

ENGLISH TRANSLATION OF THE INSCRIPTION ON THE TOMB OF NAJAF KHAN.

"He [alone] is living, who will never die.
The sky with its uncertain revolutions, with its back like a bow and full of arrows,
[Is certain] that its arrows of affliction [will] never miss its mark.
It shot [an arrow] at a mark, which was one of the respected sayyads;
The blood [of the sayyads] and the sayyads of the Safwí [dynasty] were honoured by him.
He was a precious fruit of the tree of the garden of the Twelve [Imám];
He was a pure light of the two pearls [Hasan and Hosain], and a pearl of the nine shells [the sky];
Bakshí-ul-Mulk, Amír Najaf Khán, the Lion-hearted;
Conqueror of the countries of Hind, with the help of [the command] 'Be not afraid.'

* Keene's "Moghul Empire."

He is a hero, [of such power] that if he held the [sword of 'Alí] Zúlfakár in his hand,
The King Láfathá ['Alí] himself would exclaim : A worthy son.
Be thou the companion of the Prophet, who is the first and the last of the Prophets,
[And] of thy ancestor ['Alí] the revealer of the secrets : 'If it can be revealed.'
The pen of 'Alí [the writer of the epitaph] equal to that of the angelic messenger wrote on his [Najaf Khán's] ashes [tomb,]
The date [of his death] : "This is the grave of Najaf [The name of the mountain in which 'Alí was buried,] [1191 A. H.]"

ENGLISH TRANSLATION OF THE INSCRIPTION ON THE TOMB OF NAJAF KHAN'S DAUGHTER.

"O God !
He [alone] is living, who will never die.
Cries of lamentation are heard : She is gone from this abode of ashes, and the foundation of grief !
[She who had] the temper of an angel ; the virtuous woman, she [who was] of auspicious birth.
Blessed she was, [because] she bore the name of the daughter of the Prophet ;
May she be forgiven for the sake of the soul of Fatimah, the illumined ;
With all her heart she sacrificed herself to the love she bore to 'Ali ;
She loved and offered herself as a sacrifice to the manes of the venerated Imáms ;
She was the daughter of the Mír Bakshí of Hind, Najaf Khán ;
May God grant her a place in the abode of the pure.
I drew a sigh [ah !] and the date [of her death] was evident in this hemistich :
May 'Alí and Fatima be her intercessors on the day of Resurrection [1236 A. H.]

Within twenty-five years of the death of Najaf Khán, the so-called "Empire of Delhi" was annexed to the British Empire in India, and the last vestige of its nominal independence was extinguished. General Lake, who saved the Emperor of Delhi from the rapacity of Sindiah's ministers and the insults of his French myrmidons, left him in his capital, a pensioner of the British Government. On the 24th of September 1803, thirteen days after Lake's victory, Colonel Ochterlony was put in civil and military charge of Delhi. Since then, only three events have occurred the memorials of which fall within the scope of this work : the Emperor Sháh 'Alam died at Delhi in 1806, and was buried near the grave of Qutb Sáhib in the village of Mahraulí ; in 1821, his grandson Mírzá Jahángír died at Allahabad and was buried close to the tomb of Nizám-uddín Aulíá, and in 1837, Akbar II., the son and successor of Sháh 'Alam died at Mahraulí and was buried beside his father. Bahádur Sháh, the son of Akbar II, and the last titular king of Delhi, was convicted of treason in 1857, and transported to Rangoon, where he died in 1862. The narrow piece of ground which he had reserved for himself, between the graves of his grandfather and father, is still unoccupied.

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